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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 January 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### ALBANIA

Need for More Research Analyses in Trade Union Activity (Thoma Shiko; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 83).....	1
Need for Improvement of 'Political Work' Against 'Foreign Ideologies' (Editorial; ZERI I POPULLIT, 14 Dec 83).....	9

#### BULGARIA

State Council's Measure To Improve Administrative Services (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 3 Dec 83).....	11
---	----

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Media Report on CPCZ Membership (Various sources, various dates).....	18
Indoctrination Needed Candidate Dropouts Influx of Youth	
Deputy Premier on Activity of National Committees (Ladislav Adamec; RUDE PRAVO, 10 Nov 83).....	25
Editorial Urges Greater Vigilance of National Committees (RUDE PRAVO, 14 Nov 83).....	33
CPCZ-CPSL Relationship, Evolution Summarized (Vaclav Cada; ZIVOT STRANY, No 21, 10 Oct 83).....	36

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Inadequate Industrial Safety Enforcement Criticized (BERLINER ZEITUNG, 17 Nov 83; PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, No 140, 1 Dec 83).....	42
Public Prosecutor Protests, by Heide Schlebeck Inspection Duties Outlined, by Uwe Rieger	
Civil Defense Measures for Rural Areas Outlined (SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, No 5, 1983).....	45
Civil Defense Training in Magdeburg Bezirk, by Hans-Georg Raecke Civil Defense Efforts in Neubrandenburg, by Joachim Dinse	
SED CC Member on Role of Workers' Militia in Internal Security (Herbert Scheibe; EINHEIT, No 8, Aug 83).....	49
Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, August 1983 (EINHEIT, No 8, Aug 83).....	55
Refugee Official Criticizes SED Sports Policies (Herbert Fisher; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 6 Dec 83).....	59
Homosexuals' Treatment Protested to Honecker (DIE TAGEZEITUNG, 23 Nov 83).....	62
FDJ Builds Training Center in Nicaragua (Klaus Schneegass Interview; JUNGE WELT, 29 Sep 83).....	66
Cultural Relations With Mexico Discussed (Juan Jose Bremer Interview; JUNGE WELT, 8 Nov 83).....	67

## HUNGARY

Recent Incidents Reflect Hardening of Cultural Policy (NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, 2 Dec 83).....	69
--	----

## POLAND

Provincial Reports-Elections Campaign Noted (Various sources, 7, 8 Nov 83).....	71
Cegielski Works Campaign, by Janusz Lustyk Party Ideological Work, by Wlodzimierz Ratke Party Campaign Effects Party Outlook in Campaign Party Observations--Concrete and Critical	



Provincial Party Developments Reported (Various sources, 4, 15, 18 Nov 83).....	77
Assessment of Party Work, by Wlodzimierz Kosinski Work in Railroad Repair Yards, by Ryszard Buczek Assessment, Recommendations in Campaigns Party Reports-Elections Campaign, by Jerzy Pantak	
Provincial Party Activities Reported (Various sources, 16, 18, 19, 20 Nov 83).....	89
Ideology of Reports-Elections Activity of Party Members in Campaign Suwalki Plenum on Ideological Tasks TPPR Plenum	
Jaruzelski Nominates Generals, Presents Awards (TRYBUNA LUDU, 11 Oct 83).....	96
Dziekan Speaks on Cadre Policy at 13th Plenum (TRYBUNA LUDU, 15-16 Oct 83).....	99
Response to Kubiak Report Demanded (Maciej M. Letowski; LAD, No 48, 27 Nov 83).....	105
Provincial Party Activities Reported (Various sources, 21-23 Oct 83).....	107
Party as Rudder, Compass, by Ryszard Lukasiewicz Krakow Meeting on Party Changes Piotrkow Trybunalski Province Plenum Party Meeting With Unionists	
Impact of Socio-Humanistic Studies Evaluated (Jozef Baran; ARGUMENTY, No 46, 13 Nov 83).....	115
Provincial Party Activity Developments Noted (Various dates, 27, 30 Sep, 1-3 Oct 83).....	120
Effects of Ideological Party Plenum, Rudolf Golonka, Wlodzimierz Lalec Interview Elblag Meeting on Party Control Party Strength in Ideology Plenum on Social Order, by Ryszard Augustyn	
Provincial Trade Union Activities Noted (Various sources, 17, 20 Oct 83).....	129
Over Three Million in New Unions, by W. Jurczak How Union Chairmen Are Selected, by Adam Teneta	

Transport Drivers Support Federation, Kazimierz Rynkiewicz Interview	
Unionists Consult Vacation Requirements	
Provincial Trade Union Developments Reported	
(Various sources, 4, 6, 11 Oct 83).....	139
Suwalki Province Union Meeting	
Wloclawek Trade Union Problems	
Rebirth of Trade Unions, by Boleslaw Aszklar	
Listening to Union Requests, by Jacek Szwedkowicz	
Provincial Party Activities Reported	
(Various sources, 10, 11, 13 Oct 83).....	146
Overcoming Party Indoctrination Barriers, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski	
Party Involved in Housing Construction	
Lack of Common Sense in Local Parties, by Tadeusz Maryniak	
Party Organization Difficulties, by Jerzy Rzeszuto	
Provincial Party Activities Noted	
(Various sources, 20, 21 Oct 83).....	155
Tarnobrzeg Plenum on Member Attitudes	
Party Report-Election Campaign, by Miroslaw Bogiel	
Campaign To Reach All Members, Maria Wawrzynska Interview	
Gdansk Campaign Meeting	
Provincial Party Developments Reported	
(Various sources, 5, 25, 27, 28 Oct 83).....	165
Gdansk Party Aktiv Meeting	
Importance of Socialist Indoctrination, by E. Burzynska-Miszczyk	
Szczecin Trade Improvements Meeting	
Zielona Gora Ideological Meeting	
Interior Ministry Official Discusses Investigation Process	
(Zbigniew Pudysz Interview; POLITYKA, No 49, 3 Dec 83)...	176
Fate of Mentally Retarded Explored	
(Zbigniew Nienacki; TU I TERAZ, No 32, 10 Aug, No 42, 19 Oct 83).....	184
Restrictions on Reproduction Proposed	
Author Clarifies Proposals	

## ROMANIA

Medical Assistance in Wars Fought in Urban Areas (Victor Botez; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, No 3, Jul-Sep 83) .....	195
Catholic Priest Accused of Immorality, Corruption (SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 12 Nov 83) .....	200
RCP Meeting on Agriculture (AGERPRES, 7-9 Dec 83) .....	203
Ceausescu Attends Discussion of Successes, Shortfalls Session Concludes	
Youth Union Plenary Meeting Reported (AGERPRES, 10 Dec 83) .....	205
Health Education Program for Military Examined (Victor Lupascu, et al.; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, No 3, Jul-Sep 83) .....	206
Orthodox, Lutheran Clergymen Support 'Appeal for Disarmament, Peace' (ROMANIA LIBERA, 7 Nov 83) .....	211
Briefs	
Quality Control Unit	213
Release of Deputy Minister	213
New Job for Gavanescu	213
Death of Catholic Leader	213

## YUGOSLAVIA

Satirical Commentaries Ridicule Official Views (M. Petrovic; STUDENT, 2 Nov 83; OMLADINSKE, 30 Oct 83) .....	214
Re Dismissals in Secret	
Re Ceremonial Phrasemongering	

NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH ANALYSES IN TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 83 pp 51-59

[Article by Thoma Shiko: "Studies and Scientific Analyses Must Occupy a More Important Place in the Activities of the Trade Unions"; from the Activity of Government Organs and Mass Organizations]

[Text] The all-round activity of the cadres and of the social activists in the trade unions, in the struggle to implement the tasks set down for them by the party, has in a natural way enriched their work experience in content and form. It has revolutionized, among other things, the methodology and style of their work. However, within the existing conditions when the party has set very important tasks before the trade unions regarding the ideological, political, technical and professional education of the working class to make them more capable of successfully completing the tasks, not only in the field of production but also in all other areas of our life, perfecting the work method and style of the trade unions constitutes one of the principal requirements of the times. The broad and complex nature of the tasks that have to be solved by the working class and other workers who are active within the trade union organisations requires greater emphasis on finding ways to use more effective methods in their educational, monitoring and mobilizing work, and in the organizational work of the trade unions so they will become familiar with problems and solve them in the most correct way possible.

It is common knowledge that the principal objective of the trade unions at all levels, at grassroots, at the district level and at headquarters has been and remains the relationship with people. In order to qualify this work, with the goal of advancing communist education, the work of enlightening, convincing, organizing and mobilizing the workers to fulfill all the tasks set forth by the party, it is necessary to undertake more scientific studies and analyses and to work with unflagging determination to solve the problems that emerge from these studies and analyses. The party teaches us and experience has proved that the work of the trade unions is not only to propagandize and agitate, to convince the workers and explain to them the correct political line of the party, its directives and guidelines, but it is also to organize and mobilize the workers, to implement these political directives and guidelines. Nevertheless, positive results from mediations of this kind depend on a sound knowledge of the party teachings and

those of Comrade Enver Hoxha; on the conditions under which these teachings will be put into effect and on the nature of the problems which require solutions.

As a result of the continuous improvement in the interlacing of the propaganda and debating work of the trade union organizations with their organizing and mobilizing work, their activity is broadening and becoming specialized, and their role as a powerful party lever is growing. However, in practice there still remains a narrow view of the role of the trade unions within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is seen in the superficial and biased work performed by some of the organizations and organs of the unions, who at meetings consider it more important to give workers information on the operational side of the work, and only briefly discuss analyses and studies, which would deepen their knowledge of conditions and problems, and define tasks and measures that have already been studied. They fail to involve workers in concrete activities and actions which would solve these problems correctly and on time by using a multitude of measures.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that problems are solved and tasks are realized, not only by calling upon the consciousness of the communists and the workers, but also by accompanying the implementation of tasks and the work of convincing people with all-round measures, concrete organization and guidance, supervision and accountability. These measures "are a dialectical unit; they educate, mobilize and involve people in revolutionary activities" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party (AWP)", p 75).

The practical experience of implementing the tasks of the Eighth Party Congress is surfacing many examples of useful work methods and styles, which are helping to deepen the conviction that the trade unions cannot successfully fulfill the complex tasks that confront them with any kind of work method and style; in fact they cannot handle them even with work methods and styles that were considered advanced a few years ago. Their work methods and styles must respond to the political, ideological, economic, educational, cultural and scientific development of life in our country, and to realizing the new tasks trade unions are currently responsible for within the framework of these developments. A good knowledge of the problems which are of concern, the ways and the ability to solve them, are a basic condition in defining and implementing a revolutionary method and style of work which will respond to the demands of the times. This is the reason why the party recommends that in the work method of the trade unions, research and analyses must be of primary importance. Only when problems which concern the organization or the forum have been defined on time will it be possible to define the proper ideological political and organizational measures, which will provide the right solutions for these problems.

Every problem has its own characteristics and as a result it has its own course of studies and practical solutions. By broadening the themes of the problems they are analyzing, and by struggling to find in every instance the most successful way to draw out the thoughts of the workers and to mobilize

them to find practical solutions to the problems, the organizations and the forums of the trade unions in the districts and at headquarters will amass rich work experience, improve their method and style of work, and increase the fruitfulness of all their activities as powerful party levers. It is a fact that the work themes of the organs and organizations of the trade unions now include a multitude of problems which have been studied, analyzed and solved, or are about to be solved. In the course of 1982, and the first 6 months of 1983 alone, the General Council, the Presidium and the Central Councils of the trade unions, analyzed and criticized 38 problems of special importance to all the activities of the trade unions in the field of the economy and culture. Meanwhile, the trade union district councils, their presidiums and local councils studied and analyzed 850 problems, whereas, the trade union committees in other districts studied and analyzed 450 problems. In these numbers are included numerous studies and solutions which have given an important boost to the implementation of all the tasks set down by the Eighth Party Congress in the field of production, in ideological, political and professional education, in social and family life and in improving the living conditions of the workers. Meanwhile, the work methods of the trade unions in educating, mobilizing, organizing and supervising have improved and become skilled.

It is important to emphasize that after the Eighth Party Congress and the Ninth Congress of the trade unions, there has been a concentration of attention on certain problems on which the trade union organizations need to concentrate more and become more aggressive to solve them.

In implementing the guidelines of the Eighth Congress of the Party of value to the trade unions "to improve their educational work, make it sound and closely linked to life and the problems which are of concern to workers from different categories of work" (Enver Hoxha "Report to the Eighth Congress of the AWP, p 100), was the study and the analysis made recently by the Presidium of the General Council of the Union of Trade Unions: "on the psychology of workers in social services toward work and ownership." This study has served to deepen and broaden the knowledge of certain psychological peculiarities inherent in social services workers and, supported by this knowledge, the study has helped the organizations, organs, cadres and the activities of the trade unions, in the districts and at headquarters, to evaluate the situation and recognize the tasks for the ideological, political, technical and professional education of these workers, and to further improve their own methods of education and mobilization in accordance with the demands for class education and revolutionary mobilization of workers in every category.

On the basis of the conclusions reached by the Presidium of the General Council of Trade Unions, the trade union organizations of the public services sector, organized an important and productive debate. They fired the first shot in the battle against the mistaken ideas and activities of workers who try to take from society more than their share. They exposed and criticized laziness, the poor quality of work in certain services, the practice of some workers of using their profession for private gain, as well as other erroneous concepts and attitudes.

In order to deepen and increase the results of this analysis, the Central Council of Trade Unions for Construction Communication and Communal Services, in cooperation with the leadership of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union organized a general meeting at the communal services enterprise in Pogradec on the theme: "Let us take our services to the citizen rather than let the citizen come to us." For this purpose the Central Council of Trade Unions for Education and Culture, Health and Trade, together with the Ministry of Domestic Trade, organized a general consultative meeting to get the Industrial Trade Enterprise in Tirana to initiate a campaign: "An example in services to the people." Good work was done by the trade unions in the health sector to spread the experience of the workers in the Korce District health sector.

This broad and diverse activity which was based on the study of the Presidium of the General Council of Trade Unions, helped all the organs and organizations of the trade unions to plan for activities with broader horizons and become more productive in implementing the party directives in the services sector.

The other study made by the Presidium of the General Council of Trade Unions "on increasing the educational activity of the trade union organizations in cultural and artistic institutions," was very productive. In implementing the conclusions and tasks that emerged from this study, we are working to put into effect the guidelines given long ago by the party that "culture, literature and arts must develop on a pure and sound basis; they must follow step by step the revolutionary transformations of the country and strengthen their socialist content, military character, popular spirit and national profile more and more" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers Party," p 176).

There are numerous examples to prove that knowledge of a problem provides correct solutions. The number of organizations and organs of the trade unions that encourage studies, analyses, monitoring and repeat monitoring are committed to better implement in practice the decisions they have taken, by using more productive methods, is on the increase.

#### Let Us Concentrate More on Studies

The local council and the trade union organizations in the industrial sector of Korce District, have carefully studied the problems of reducing permanent disability and, based on the results that have emerged from these studies, they have improved their educational work, their socialist emulation and their forms of monitoring in accordance with the conditions and the characteristics of each collective. These measures have produced good and lasting results. Meanwhile, the local council and trade union organizations in the Tirana industrial sector, have been content with general meetings and criticisms and have not had good results in this field. Here is a picture of the situation at some sister enterprises in these two districts: The general disability rate at the Korce knitting enterprise has been kept down to 3 percent, whereas at the "Stalin" textile mill in Tirana it is 7 percent. This indicator at the rug enterprise in Korce is 3.5 percent while the rug

enterprise in Tirana has an 8 percent indicator; the artistic enterprises in Korce have a permanent disability rate of 2 percent; the sister enterprises in Taraga have a rate of 7 percent.

As can be seen, although the conditions and objectives are fairly equal in these enterprises, the collectives do not have the same results. While examining the reasons for these differences, despite the fact that the trade union organizations from both districts were involved in this problem, the facts emerged that in Korce the results are better because the work was based on a deeper analysis which has permitted the definition and implementation of more productive, educational, organizational and mobilizing measures. In Shkoder District they are doing careful and studied work. They have analyzed and criticized a number of important problems in the life of the organization. Of special value were the studies to define the place and role the trade union organizations have in fulfilling the tasks and pledges of the workers for 1983, and to crown with success their activities of stockpiling and delivering hardware on time, saving electrical energy, fuels and rubber, improving work and material norms, building dwellings by voluntary contributions and improving the living and working conditions of the workers, and so on.

A very productive study was made by the trade union organizations in this district on the problem of educating and training workers, which will provide an insight into the needs and the situation, and activate the trade union organizations and the managers of the enterprises to define concrete tasks to further raise the educational and professional level of the workers. On the district level priority was given to creating a deeper concept of the absolute need to educate and train the workers to know and implement scientific and technical disciplines; to become familiar with and assimilate advanced experience on a scientific basis.

As a result of this work and concept, 60 percent of the workers in the automobile work shop have a middle or high school certificate; 160 individuals are taking training courses and 86 of them are going to night school. All the engineering and technical cadres are involved in the studies and have helped considerably in the differentiated training of workers according to the level of their education and certification. Thoughtful and systematic work such as this can also be found at the SMT machine tractor station of the "Perlat Rexhepi" agricultural enterprise, in the cigarette and tobacco factory, the wire plant, the Corn and Rice Institute and many other enterprises in Shkoder District. The training of workers to the level of responding to the needs of the times is one of the basic factors which has placed these collectives among those that stand out in fulfilling the planned tasks.

From these and other analyses and studies which are in the process of being made, here and in other districts, the cadres, activists, and the organizations and forums of the trade unions at the grassroots, in the districts and at headquarters are drawing a number of important conclusions. First, problems are now more numerous and complex, and more difficult to resolve. A multitude of problems requires a multitude of solutions and not the



application of the same work practices for every problem and in every organization and form. Second, every problem, large or small, to be solved properly and on time needs to be deeply analyzed and studied, because only on this basis can measures for permanent solutions be defined and applied. Third, from the time of knowing and defining the path for the solution of the problem to its complete solution, there is a period of complex work and revolutionary activity, to evaluate the problem again and again and to put into effect the defined tasks, so that it will be solved on the basis of the actual situation and on achievements and factors which favor and do not complicate the solution of the problem.

The long experience gained from the social activities of the trade union organizations proves that the series of problems facing the trade unions today and the intricate ideological, political, economic, social and other factors, which emerge again and again, cannot be recognized and solved without deep and all-round study and analysis. Any claim "that the problems are known," "we live with them every day" and "there is no need to waste time in studies and analyses," is a mistake. This kind of thinking will lead the cadres to hasty, shallow and one-sided activities and solutions that will prevent the achievement of the stated objectives on time.

Although, in principle, the necessity of building work methods and styles on the basis of a deep and all-round knowledge of the problems, through studies and analyses, is known, the trade union organizations and forums do not always evaluate correctly the need for studies so as to become familiar with the real situations and draw from them conclusions and define concrete measures and tasks, which, when implemented with deep responsibility, will lead to the proper fulfillment of duties. In the activities of certain trade union organs and organizations we still notice shallow and superficial work practices which cannot properly solve the many-sided problems that exist, and as a result, the solution is not always the correct one. Some trade union organizations continue to rely on old practices that have as their basis theorizing and moralizing, which do not have much to do with knowing the situation deeply and with the work to educate and mobilize the workers, according to the situations and the conditions of the work and the tasks which are derived from these situations. This is the reason why the local council and the organizations of the trade unions in the agricultural sector in Vlore District have been worried for a long time by the nonfulfillment of norms by a number of workers. The situation has yet to improve. For the first 3 months of the year, many workers in the "Rinia" agricultural enterprise, in the Llakatundi and "Vlora" agricultural enterprises failed to fulfill their norms. The party has always recommended that during the study and analysis of problems, efforts should be made to concentrate on finding the very best ways to solve a problem. This recommendation is still in force. Quite often, some cadres and forums believe that they have finished their studies and have accomplished their analyses, just by presenting a statement of their work situation at the meetings of the trade union organs and organizations without evaluating and accomplishing at the required level that which is the core of the study and analysis: the definition of effective measures to move ahead with the work.

In spite of all the important advances that have been made in the work methods and style of the trade union organizations, in practice we still come across analyses that do not justify their purpose. A study of the activities of 28 trade union organizations in Gjirokaster District showed that the 241 problems analysed, 77 percent had not been provided with specific tasks. We then ask the question: why do they have meetings and analyze problems; what are their objectives and how will they achieve them; the fulfillment of what actual tasks will mobilize them; how will they organize and control their work and how will they ask for accountability?

It is evident that on these occasions the examination of problems by some organizations and forums becomes, so to speak, self-serving. This happens when there is no proper concept of the fact that the analysis and discussion of problems is only the beginning and not the end of the work to find solutions. An overevaluation of the informative role of the meeting makes reporters and debaters in some organizations and forums of the trade unions disregard the heart of the problem: the setting of effective measures for improving the problem and undertaking concrete revolutionary actions to achieve the specific objective. Therefore, we see in the work practices of some organizations and forums of the trade unions occasions, which sometimes are distressing, when problems are carried over from meeting to meeting without a solution.

The preparation of thorough analyses helps, and should help the cadres, activists and workers more and more to master the situations, to uncover unknown aspects, to provide concrete tasks and to find the means and ways to implement these tasks. These analyses stress what has been done so far to solve the problem, what remains to be done and why it has not been done; what are the reasons for these shortcomings and who is responsible for them. Seeking the answer to these problems gives the trade union organizations and organs a chance to strongly have their say about people and work; to outline their responsibilities and define measures which will improve their work and struggle to implement the decisions and tasks. These analyses will make it easier to define measures to correct weaknesses, and will provide many kinds and types of work which will enrich the experience of solving problems.

When we speak of the complexities of solving problems we think of the limitations which exist between the factors necessary to solve them. For example, to economize on fuels the trade union organizations and the enterprise managers must not only take a number of organizational and technical measures, but they must also consider ideological and political measures, which have to do with instilling in every driver and worker the conviction of the absolute necessity of economizing on fuels because when this all-round attack work is lacking, as happened in Mirdite and some other districts, where even though pledges for saving fuels are made, more fuel is used than is allowed in the planned norms.

It is also true that the solution of one problem depends upon the solution of another problem. We stress this because some trade union organs and organizations do not keep this fact in mind; they often are content to just

examine economic problems and almost forget to think of other problems, such as a worker's social and family situation. In practice, we see instances at meetings where economic problems are discussed at length, but in fact the specific objective is not always achieved. In addition, we often forget that deficiencies which are seen in implementing the economic tasks are closely linked to a number of other social, cultural and educational problems. Perfecting the method and style of work of the trade union organs and organizations is connected to numerous problems of this kind. Therefore, it is necessary that scientific studies and analyses take priority over all the activities of the unions, while measuring the results of these scientific studies and analyses by the influence they exert in fulfilling and overfulfilling the duties of the plan, in solving social problems, in strengthening the defense capabilities of the country and in the cultural development of the workers.

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CSO: 2100/16

## NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF 'POLITICAL WORK' AGAINST 'FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Dec 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Political Work is a Vigorous Work Aimed at Individuals"]

[Excerpts] Despite the successes which we have achieved and are achieving, much remains to be done for the further strengthening of political work. Under the conditions of the harsh imperialist-revisionist encirclement, in particular, the improvement of the effectiveness of political work is becoming a more serious and more essential issue. The facts show that foreign manifestations and phenomena find a place and develop in the very spot where there are deficiencies in the political work of the party organizations or where formal, bureaucratic work is substituted for this activity. The revival of some religious remnants and backward customs in Lezhe, Mat, and Diber districts, the overburdening of women in Mirdite, Librazhd and other districts, reveal, among other things, a deficiency in political work. There is not and cannot be any political-ideological defect in the consciousness of individuals. Wherever our politics and ideology do not prevail, undoubtedly, manifestations of foreign ideologies will take root.

One of the main aims of political work is the further and uninterrupted strengthening of ties between the party and the masses, as a great matter of principle, of vital importance. This is all the more necessary in light of the fact that the aim of all our enemies, both domestic and foreign, has been and is to create cracks in the unity of the party and the people, to utilize and rely on the remnants of the old society in the awareness of individuals, with the aim of creating conditions for seizing the fortress from within. Therefore, the party advises us to be always vigilant and in a position of attack, to continually intensify the political work of combatting and eliminating every foreign manifestation which harms the unity between the party and people even a little, such as quarrels and grudges, using the criterion of kinship in examining problems, etc.

The effectiveness of political work is measured by the results achieved. However, in order to achieve these results it is necessary that we combat instances of spontaneity, formalism and globalism in political work. This is why the party organs and organizations should base their political work on the problems raised by life and on the phenomena which are a matter of concern to the people. They should make this work understandable and convincing, according to

specific needs and with strong arguments, in accordance with the increasing demands of the masses. And, in order for this work to be done well, it is necessary that they make analyses not only in regard to the plan (which certainly have their own importance) but also, in regard to individuals, always seeking to support and stimulate progress in the struggle against petit-bourgeois psychology and satisfaction with little.

However, this is not always the way that the work is done. Let us take for an example the handling of letters from the people. Worthy of attention is the fact that letters come from some districts such as Berat, Shkoder, Fier, Tirana and Vlore to high-level party and government organs dealing with matters which, for the most part, can and should be taken care of at the grass-roots level. In some cases 40 percent of these letters fall into this category.

Political work is of an assault nature. It must be accompanied by revolutionary action, by mellowed and mature assault activities. Because they have been like this, some activities of social control youth groups in Tirana, Durrës and other places have had results in the struggle against foreign manifestations in attitudes toward work and property, in behavior and appearance. But in some districts, such as Shkoder, these activities have been carried out in spurts and have not had continuity.

CSO: 2100/19

STATE COUNCIL'S MEASURE TO IMPROVE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Basic Directions for Improving Administrative and Legal Services for the Bulgarian Population (Adopted by the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at a Joint Session of 25 November 1983)"]

[Text] Administrative and legal services for the public are of great political, social and economic significance. As an inseparable part of integrated social services, they contribute to further creating a mature socialist society in our nation and to the establishing and development of the socialist way of life. Administrative and legal services satisfy specific vital interests of the people related to their essential interests. Their improvement is an expression in the further development of society's political system and socialist democracy. They are an important factor in increasing the effectiveness of social administration and in overcoming manifestations of bureaucracy, formalism and indifference to the citizens.

A decisive improvement in administrative and legal services limits the wasting of working and free time of the workers, it helps to increase the social productivity and quality of labor, to raise the standard of living of the people and the well-rounded development of the socialist individual in accord with the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

Due to all of this, the placing of administrative and legal services for the public on a fundamentally new basis must become a concern for all the state bodies and social organizations.

In spite of certain achievements in this area, a qualitative change has still not been made. "It is true," emphasized Comrade Todor Zhivkov, "that people waste not hours but rather days and months in obtaining administrative and legal services, particularly from the court bodies, people's councils and financial institutions." Not enough concern has been shown for eliminating unnecessary documents required by the citizens or for simplifying, consolidating and standardizing the documents and procedures for administrative and legal services. There have been frequent manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism with many workers being sent from office to office. There are exceptionally great losses of working time for the national economy due to the obtaining of

administrative and legal services by the workers. These losses, in essence, are unproduced national income. A proper official approach is applied on a very limited basis in providing administrative and legal services. Some of the required services are not performed at all, particularly by the municipalities.

The Unified System for Civil Records and Administrative Services of the Population (ESGRAON) has still not been completely set up and is not integrated with the other departmental systems within the Unified Social Information System. It does not provide the required data on the citizens and is not equipped with the modern technical devices for processing and transmitting the information. There has been high personnel turnover for those employed in the ESGRAON. Due to all of this, this expensive system is still not sufficiently effective.

The remaining systems for administrative and legal services in many instances employ obsolete work methods and function on a primitive technical base. Particularly backward in this regard are the activities of the legal administrative system.

Furthermore, the basic directions indicate certain weaknesses related to the leadership, coordination and control in the setting up and functioning of the systems for administrative and legal services under the departments and people's councils. A number of questions have not been resolved in the planning, financing, wages, material incentives, selection and skill of personnel, the level of services for the citizens and the norm system.

The existing shortcomings and the new high demands which the creation of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria poses in all areas of social life require a fundamental reorganization and the achieving of a qualitative improvement in the administrative and legal services for the population. We must carry out more and more consistently the order formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov: "Quality is essential in all spheres and activities of our life. Either a high and continuously improving quality and rapid advancement or low quality and slow movement and possibly the mere marking of time."

The basic directions give as the main aim in improving these activities the ensuring of rapid, accessible, inexpensive and high quality administrative and legal services with the least loss of working and free time for the citizens. This can be achieved by a further improvement in organizing the services and the consistent employment of the modern achievements of scientific and technical progress. The main part of the services is to be carried out on a basis of electronics and automation.

In this regard, the improving of the administrative and legal services for the population must encompass the activities of all departments, the people's councils, enterprises, institutions and organizations which perform administrative and legal services for the citizens.

The reorganization of administrative and legal services for the population is to be carried out on the basis of the following principles:

- 1) Simplification and reduction of documents and an improvement in the forms of administrative and legal services;
- 2) Decentralizing of activities related to services and the bringing of them closer to the places of employment and residence of the citizens;
- 3) The introduction of a required effective official system in performing all administrative and legal services for the citizens aside from the instances when the personal presence of the citizen is required by the nature of the service;
- 4) Integration in the setting up and operating of the various systems for administrative-legal services of the public;
- 5) Broadening the social-state principle in the management of administrative and legal services;
- 6) The setting up of administrative and legal services on a most modern technical basis through automating the processing and obtaining of information from the territorial information computer centers (TIITs) of the okrugs.

For achieving this main goal, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria approve the following basic directions:

1. For Decisively Simplifying and Reducing the Paper Work and Improving the Forms of Administrative and Legal Services

The ministries, other departments, people's councils, economic and public organizations within a 1-year period are to take measures to reduce the number as much as possible and rationalize the content of documents which are required from the citizens and to simplify the administrative service procedures. On this basis there is to be a sharp reduction in the paper work between the various bodies and citizens as well as between the social administration bodies themselves. In providing administrative and legal services, they are to proceed from the principle of confidence in the socialist citizen in combining official and public control and increased responsibility for the reliability of the data.

For this purpose the Council of Ministers and all the departments, the people's councils and organizations must review thoroughly the enforceable enactments (laws, regulations, ordinances, instructions and so forth), in doing what is necessary to eliminate those which are out of date and unnecessary, to amend those which require excessive documents from the citizens and become grounds for the manifestation of formalism and bureaucracy. The labor collectives and the entire community is to take a broad part in carrying out this review.

The Committee for the Unified Social Information System along with the ministries, other departments and people's councils are to review and update the manual of administrative services and eliminate excess documents in accord with the criteria indicated in the basic directions.



Also planned are measures for simplifying, consolidating and standardizing the documents and techniques in administrative and legal services, for controlling the working time of the services, for ubiquitously introducing new forms of services such as remote data processing, phone orders, written requests, the delivery of the documents to homes and jobs and so forth.

## 2. For Further Decentralization of Activities Related to Administrative and Legal Services for the Public

The decentralizing of activities related to the administrative and legal services requires that the performing of the services be brought as close as possible to the place of employment and residence of the citizens, with the basic portion of the services being provided in the conurbation systems and large municipalities in order to reduce the time and expenditures for providing the services.

For this purpose, the ministries and other departments are to transfer the performing of the administrative and legal services, according to their nature, to their divisions and units or to the people's councils.

The okrug people's councils are to be freed as much as possible from the performing of administrative and legal services for the public and are to transfer these to the obshtina people's councils, the rayon people's councils and municipalities. In line with this the functions and competence of the municipalities and the secretaries of the municipalities are to be broadened.

The lawyer collectives, the legal sections and legal consultative offices under the enterprises and institutions are to broaden and improve the providing of free legal aid to the citizens at the place of residence and employment.

The State Savings Bank, the ministries, other departments, the executive committees of the people's councils and the economic organizations are to broaden and improve the voluntary and non-cash payment of various types of services for the citizens including electrical power, telephone, radio and TV, heating and hot water, cold water, taxes, fees and so forth as well as the payment of wages, pensions and royalties through a payment deposit.

## 3. For Setting Up a Unified Functional System and the Consistent Application of an Efficient Business System in the Administrative and Legal Services for the Population

The Unified System for Administrative and Legal Services must be set up and operate as a part of the unified social information system in the nation, in encompassing the providing of all types of services related to the issuing of documents on the citizens over the question of their rights and obligations.

The setting up of a unified functional system for administrative and legal services of the population should create conditions for integrating activities in this area on the part of the individual departments and territorial systems. The unified functional system should use the data files and equipment of the territorial information computer centers (TIITs) in the okrugs, the national information computer complex, the departmental electronic computer centers and

the national multimachine network. A single civil number must be used as the entry code for the entire system of administrative and legal services in line with all the rest in order to avoid duplicating the data on the citizens in the various bodies and departments. The data on all citizens are to be obtained through the TIITs and the national multimachine network independently of the place of data storage. The leading principle in the activities of the unified system for administrative and legal services will be the obligatory, official performing of the administrative and legal services by the people's councils, enterprises, institutions and organizations without the personal involvement of the citizens.

The administrative and legal services are to be performed on the basis of a written or verbal request by the citizen to the appropriate service at the place of employment or residence, with the institutions, organizations, enterprises and people's councils entering into the official ties between themselves and providing the required data and documents.

In regard to this, before the end of 1984, the people's councils and larger municipalities, the enterprises, institutions and organizations are to establish administrative-legal, informational and clerical services for the public (SAPIDO). The services must provide all types of administrative and legal services for the workers in the appropriate system as well as for outside consumers.

The SAPIDO are to be set up by combining the units existing for this purpose and reorganizing the other services, within the approved limit for the number of administrative-managerial personnel in the corresponding enterprises, institutions and organizations.

In the small municipalities, enterprises and institutions, administrative and legal services are to be performed by the mayors and secretaries of the municipalities, by lawyers and other qualified employees in enterprises and institutions. In remote quarters of cities and in villages, the administrative and legal services can be performed by an individual authorized by the people's council and Fatherland Front organization on a volunteer basis or for minimum payment.

The basic directions outline the functions of the specialized services as well as the necessity of explanatory activities among the public in order to overcome the psychological change created by years of habit in many people that they themselves must carry out the services needed by them.

The functions of coordinating and monitoring the administrative and legal services of the public on a general-state scale are to be entrusted to the Commission for Territorial and Conurbation Organization under the Council of Ministers and this commission, correspondingly, is to be turned into the specialized governmental body in this area.

The commission is to carry out party and state policy in this area for improving, coordinating and monitoring the activities of the unified system.

The commission is to provide procedural leadership for the ministries, other departments and executive committees of the people's councils on the questions of administrative and legal services and is to assist in improving the methods for studying and forecasting the need for administrative and legal services.

The functions of the Committee for the Unified Social Information System are to be strengthened for achieving unity in the methodology and procedures and for ensuring the informational, program and technical compatibility of the systems for administrative and legal services in the aim of integrating them. Its instructions in this area are obligatory for the ministries, the other departments and the executive committees of the people's councils.

Certain questions related to material and moral incentives for the personnel employed in administrative and legal services are to be settled for the correct functioning of the unified system.

Training and advanced training for personnel involved in administrative and legal services with a higher education are to be provided in the second and third level of instruction at certain institutions of higher learning (the Legal Faculty of the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University, the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute, the VIAS [expansion unknown] and others) and in schools for postgraduate training. The training of middle-level executive personnel is to be provided in specialized technical schools, in the upper levels of the unified secondary polytechnical schools and retraining in specialized courses under the departments and in the interokrug schools.

In their activities related to administrative and legal services for the public, the state and economic bodies must widely develop and employ the social-state [voluntary] principle and more widely employ the assistance from the organizations of the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations.

The public organizations, Bulgarian Television and the other mass information media must explain the principles and new forms of administrative and legal services and popularize advanced experience in these activities.

#### 4. For Creating the Physical Plant for the Unified Functional System for Administrative and Legal Services for the Public

As a result of the integrated setting up of the unified system, conditions are created for the automated obtaining of the information needed by the citizens, on a basis of integrating the ESGRAON with the departmental systems within the Unified Social Information System (ESSI).

The development of the information and technical base of the unified system for administrative and legal services of the population is to be carried out in two main stages.

During the first stage, a reorganization is to be carried out in the organization and management of the unified system, integration is to be started between the ESGRAON and the departmental systems by using the information and technical base of the territorial information computer centers (TIITs), and the most

essential equipment will be provided for the services involved in the administrative-legal, information and clerical services of the public.

In line with this the appropriate departments and people's councils are obliged to carry out a series of measures related to the setting up and updating of the data files, to the additional introduction of electronic and program equipment and so forth.

During the second stage, the integrating of all the systems for administrative and legal services will be completed, a transition will be made to the electronic processing of the data files from all the systems and gradually the ordinary card files will be eliminated. The obshtina people's councils will introduce mini- and microcomputer systems with a developed terminal link to the municipalities. Such systems are also to be introduced in the divisions of departments.

The services for administrative-legal, informational and secretarial services of the population in the people's councils, enterprises and institutions are to operate as terminals for a link-up with the territorial information-computer center of the okrug and the departments.

#### 5. For Improving the Normative System for Administrative and Legal Services

For creating the necessary legal conditions for the work of the unified functional system for administrative and legal services, the basic directions provide for the promulgating of an ukase on administrative and legal services for the public. The ukase will stipulate the basic principles for administrative and legal services, the competence of the bodies to perform the administrative and legal services, the legal guarantees against bureaucracy and formalism in this area, the protecting of the interests of the citizens, the rights, obligations and responsibilities of the officials and citizens and so forth.

The ukase will also settle the questions concerning the safeguarding of secrecy for the data about the citizen as well as the ascribing of probative value to the documents obtained in processing the information by automation and through microfilm equipment.

The State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria express confidence that the ministries and other departments, the people's councils, the economic and public organizations will make the necessary effort to improve the administrative and legal services for the population. This will be a new important expression of concern for man in a developed socialist society and a new contribution to increasing the effectiveness of the national economy and social administration.

10272

CSO: 2200/52

MEDIA REPORT ON CPCZ MEMBERSHIP

Indoctrination Needed

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 29, 20 Jul 83 p 1

[Excerpt] Last year, as stated in a report on the development and improvement of the party membership base approved by the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee less than month ago, the party admitted over 58,000 candidates into its ranks. They are primarily workers--some 60 percent of them. However, included also are peasants, members of the socialist intelligentsia, students and thousands of representatives of other social groups of our population. A favorable trend, too, has been the increase in the number of female members.

The party has become younger. The influx of young people into the party ranks means that 34 percent of communists are below the age of 35. This is, without doubt a very favorable situation. The party has admitted educated people. Over 88 percent of the newly admitted candidates have more than basic education, one-third of them have completed secondary education, and one in eight university education. The educational level of the working class is illustrated by other data: over 21 percent of candidate-workers have completed secondary education and over 1 percent have acquired university education to improve their working qualifications. Almost 40 percent of the new comrades attended party, Socialist Youth Union, or trade union schools.

However, these favorable statistics must not lead us to unhealthy self-satisfaction that we have always and everywhere granted to future communists a patent for party maturity. To own a small red membership card in the Communist Party is a great obligation. Furthermore, many years of historical experience have only emphasized the trend that the demands on party members have become not smaller but that they are only increasing along with new tasks during the period of scientific and technical revolution. Society does not need words but actions. Only through deeds does each and every communist answer the question of whether he deserves from the start and dignified name of party member.

The report on the development and improvement of the party membership base illustrates a sincere interest, good results, and honest evaluation of the experience of party organs and organizations which in the past

period successfully carried out the implementation of one of the most important resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 3rd Plenum of its Central Committee. However, we have also encountered problems. Last year, for example, certain basic organizations, especially in Prague, Central Bohemian, East Bohemian and West Slovak krajs, admitted very few candidates and, in certain cases, not a single candidate. An insufficient number of admissions has been observed among workers from production or pre-production stages, which affects quality, the technical level of products, and the application of scientific-technical knowledge in practice. Party ranks also would be greatly strengthened by a higher number of workers from the sectors of research, science and culture. Today's tasks demand a higher share of creative workers and specialists from the party. Certain basic organizations are lagging in selecting those young people who, prior to their admission as party candidates, actively worked in the Socialist Youth Union or other social organizations. In many places, we still have difficulties as far as educating future party members is concerned. This applies primarily to young workers who in many okreses are not members of the Socialist Youth Union in sufficient numbers.

The preparation and progress of this year's annual membership meetings of the party basic organizations, party conferences in plants, enterprises, localities, okreses and krajs once again confirmed that the communists are given numerous tasks but no privileges. There is one exception, one privilege for the communists: to contribute more to the common cause than the rest of our people and to strive harder for its success than the others. They have no other privileges than the right to be wherever the situation is the most difficult.

Hence, our goal must not be to achieve the plan of numerical increment of party members at any price. If this is still a practice in certain organizations, they they admit into the party young but unprepared people who do not yet fully understand what it means to be a communist. It is necessary to train party candidates toward a realization that a summation of good characteristics appearing on their application form is not enough; that they must, in the first place, win the confidence of their coworkers. The latter judge the young comrades more critically than their non-communist peers. Only rigorous education, personal examples and the influence of older communists can arouse in a young man and woman the responsibility of a prospective party member who expects that the party will also demand personal sacrifices from him or her. In all the places where experienced party members work with young people and where the basic organizations do not ignore the parallel education of and control over candidates, we can find large numbers of sacrificing and exemplary young communists.

Most of our party organizations, however, are improving the education and political training of candidates and are increasing demands on their tasks and obligations. They are aware that such an approach strengthens the leading role of the party, its ability to work successfully, and its growing influence among the masses. The further growth of a prospective

communist is secured in all those places where not only the sponsors but all members of the basic organization can state the following without hesitation about any newly admitted member: He belongs among us.

#### Candidate Dropouts

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 21, 10 Oct 83 pp 30, 31

[Text] The Kladno okres party organization carries on positive work in developing and improving its membership ranks. For example, the plans of admitting new candidates have been fulfilled in the past 2 years. Annually, it is approximately about 800 young people, of whom 63 are workers. However, this number of candidates does not lead to any improvement in the overall number of the membership base because the natural attrition of party members together with the cases of those candidates who had been dropped and the expulsion of those party members who violated the CPCZ statutes and party obligations amounts almost to the same figure.

In the okres, every fifth adult, every third technical-economic worker, every fifth JZD member, every sixth employed wife is a party member. This is a tremendous force which must be better utilized. However, the share of party organizations in the overall results differs from case to case.

In the mining sector every fourth worker is a party member. In this sector the tasks of the economic plan are being fulfilled as part of the decisive party plans; each year, 45 new candidates for party membership are admitted, and the young communists relatively quickly acquire the necessary experience in the conditions of harsh work and the atmosphere of open and principled debate.

One of the largest party organizations in the okres is Poldi United Steel National Enterprise in Kladno. Every fourth employee and every fifth worker in the enterprise is a party member. Annually, the enterprise organization admits over 300 new candidates, especially from the ranks of young workers. Good results in admitting candidates is also shown by the basic organizations in the CKD Slany, the Okres Institute of National Health in Kladno, the Metallurgical Plants in Velvary, the Tatra Plant in Slany, the Sazavan Plant in Stochov, the Restaurants and Cafeterias in Slany, and in many other places. On the other hand, party organizations in the Cooperative (Jednota) in Kladno, the Sigma Plant and the Central Bohemian Power Plants in Kladno, the Waste Material Collection Plant, the Czechoslovak Bus Transportation, the Okres Communications Directorate in Slany, the Sugar Refinery in Velvary and the No 03 Central Bohemian Bakeries in Kladno are struggling with problems. In these places we can observe a small number of organized communists in the service sector, especially in the housing enterprises, communal services, state and cooperative trade, and the situation is similar in the consumer and food industries.

As emphasized at the 3rd plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, it is not possible to concentrate the attention of party organs and organizations on the admission of candidates alone. Together with this topic it is necessary to improve further existing party ranks, internal party life, to strengthen the ideological, organizational and action unity of party organizations. Hence, we not only investigate but also practically influence the education of candidates and young communists. The okres still has a large number of candidates who prematurely drop out prior to the completion of a 2-year waiting period. There were 52 such young drop-outs in 1981 and 57 in 1982. This shows that in certain basic organizations the communists fail to pay sufficient attention to the selection and training of candidates and that sponsors do not fulfill their obligations because nobody in fact asks them to do so. Often, young people are approved as candidates without prior scrutiny at workplaces and without knowing anything about their abilities and opinions.

These undesirable cases of candidate dropouts were shared by the party basic organizations in the Poldi United Steelworks National Enterprise (19 cases in 1981 and 23 in 1982), the Nosek Mine (9 in 1981 and 3 in 1982), the Gottwald Mine (3 and 4); in individual cases there were drop-outs in the CKD Plant in Slany, at the State Farm in Klando and some other places. The main reasons for these dropouts was the non-fulfillment of basic obligations and assigned tasks as well as a request from the candidates to be dropped because of family, economic or other reasons.

At annual party meetings we often talked about ways to prevent this situation. Among the topics most often heard in the discussion was the specific problem of care to be given to candidates and young communists which, quite naturally, was reflected in the adopted resolutions and main tasks of party organizations for the subsequent period. Concrete, specific tasks with deadlines aim at increasing the share of committees of party organizations, party groups of communists in social organizations of the National Front, and economic managers in the selection, training and overall care of candidates and young communists, in improving the effectiveness of political and moral preparation of young people for their admission into the party, in improving the political-educational influence of members on the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union. One of the effective methods of educating the candidates appears to be the evaluation of their work in the committees of party organizations and at membership meetings at least twice a year, and at interviews and discussions with them in the presence of sponsors, foremen, and leaders of socialist labor brigades, etc.

The resolutions of the CPCZ okres conference guide the communists toward the complex fulfillment of tasks related to party membership ranks. Immediately after the conference, the party organs and organizations adjusted these resolutions to their own conditions and started to implement them. There is an across-the-board need to supplement the admission of candidates with a permanent effort to improve the social and age structure of the membership base, to look after those young people who behave exemplarily at their workplaces and undertake public and political work in



their place of work and residence and have natural authority among their peers and coworkers. Plant committees and committees of the party basic organizations are responsible for improving the work of party collectives in all places where decisions are made concerning the fulfillment of the economic and social program of the party, cultural and scientific development, etc. The okres party committee will effectively assist the basic organizations, check whether the results achieved are commensurate with the efforts spent, use all tested forms and methods of political-educational and political-organizational work. One of the most important tasks of the CPCZ Okres Committee will be--using members of the elected organ, political workers and members of the organ's committees--to see to it that the basic organizations strengthen their influence at drafting and other preproduction workplaces, wherever early decisions are made concerning the effectiveness and quality of production and where it is determined whether the products will be marketable or whether they remain in the warehouses. The party ranks must be rejuvenated primarily by representatives of the young technical intelligentsia from workers' and communist families, those who are publicly and politically active and who have the prerequisites to be later entrusted with important economic and other functions.

Enterprises of the service sector, trade organizations and other places whose employees are constantly in touch with other people and significantly influence their political thinking show insufficient party influence. Primarily for these party organizations, a valid task is to rethink their orientation toward long-range, at least 2-year training of young people for their admission to the party, for managing and leading work gangs and collectives in such a way as to create in them an atmosphere which would preclude slipshod work, manifestations of a lack of labor discipline and of all that is the subject of justified criticism by our citizens.

The okres party committee regularly discusses and operationally solves problems in the development and improvement of the membership base. It follows the fulfillment of deadlines and plans for improving the age and social composition of the membership ranks at the meetings of the presidium and the meetings of secretaries of the CPCZ Okres Committee, at seminars of chairmen of basic organizations, at discussion meetings of chairmen of the party plant committees of the most important enterprises. Also, the okres political school familiarizes the functionaries with the content of the main tasks stemming from the 3rd Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. At its April meeting, the okres party committee adopted organizational measures to secure the control of the fulfillment of plans of candidate admission and their training, including the fulfillment of tasks assigned to them in selected plants.

The results of this control, which was carried out over a longer period than the past 8 months, have shown that certain basic organizations are lagging behind the plans they adopted at their annual meetings. They have failed to rally a sufficient number of young people for possible admission into the ranks of party candidates and this runs counter to a

resolution passed at the okres conference. Consequently, the okres party committee charged its members, secretaries, and political workers to help the basic organizations in fulfilling their plans of developing and improving the party membership base. The presidium of the CPCZ Okres Committee regularly evaluates the situation and adopts measures which would help remedy the situation before the end of the year.

#### Influx of Youth

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] Tens of thousands of our citizens have asked to be admitted to the Communist Party in the first half of this year. Not all of them have succeeded. Demands on those who want to become party members or candidate members are high and today they are becoming higher than ever before.

Nevertheless, these are the statistics: in the first half of this year, the party admitted as candidate members 15,796 workers, 1,696 JZD members, 4,829 members of the intelligentsia of whom most were engineers and technicians, 1,046 students, and 2,553 people representing various professions and social groups. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is growing day after day and now includes over 1.6 million members and candidates.

The above overall data contain a very important fact: our party is becoming younger and younger. This was already stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress, but it would help if we confirm it once again with the statistics of the past 6 months: among the candidates for party membership whose admission was approved by the CPCZ okres committees--and the number of such candidates was exactly 26,193--the majority were people below the age of 35. But when you examine the numbers in detail you see that 87.6 percent of the total number of new candidates admitted are 35 years old or younger.

Our party has always wanted, as it wants today, to recruit each and every honorable, conscious and sometimes even restive and impatient honest individual who has in his young hands and young brain a desire to do something useful and beneficial for the republic and socialism.

Fourteen years ago, at a time when the new party leadership proclaimed loudly and clearly and to all its Leninist policy, many right-wingers self-confidently declared that such a policy would result in the loss of the younger generation. It is perhaps a waste of time to recall such declarations because the past years have shown the extent of their stupidity. However, are the people always able to master their own memory, especially when our country illustrates every day that the self-confident leaders of the Right were nothing more than poor tin soldiers manipulated by the planners of imperialist staffs and have ended up in the political underworld? What else did they say in those days...? However, to hell with them. It is only on certain occasions, over certain facts that one remembers their prophecy.

For us what is important is the time we live in. And today it is clear that the Communist Party, its goals, program and policy attracts young people. And this has its own significance. We repeat the words of Yuriy Andropov, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, that no new generation is ever a mere copy of the preceding generation. These are wise words and they also apply to our situation. After all, the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee held in 1980 came to the same conclusion, if under different circumstances. Today's young people have their own ideas concerning the world and the values which make a man a man. From this stems the attitude toward the Communist Party for everybody whose main, basic and decisive interest is the goal for which our forefathers raised the red banner: an individual has a right to live well on this planet but he must fight for this right. And who else will help him in that, who else will offer him leadership besides the Communist Party. The torch is passed on....

We are talking about the new influx of young people into the party--and this is a joyous scene, a joyous news. Of course, we have an old proverb, namely, that joy is also a worry. Tested party veterans must take care of the "worry" part. Nobody is born a communist. You can develop into one. This means that we must put our party candidates, our "newborns" into a good party collective and assign them enough concrete work to prevent them from standing bewildered somewhere in a corner. Those candidates who are educated, able, mature and conscious can take a lot and will do a lot.

1277

CSO: 2400/116

DEPUTY PREMIER ON ACTIVITY OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 83 p 3

/Article by Ladislav Adamec, deputy premier, CSR Government: "National Committees After the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee-Trust of Citizenry Above All"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ Eighteen months have elapsed since the Sixth Plenum of the party's Central Committee which dealt with continuous improvement of the performance of national committees and organizations under their jurisdiction. Assessed by routinely employed criteria, it is not too extensive a period. However, the very nature of its tasks and complexity of problems make it significant and tie in in closely with the overall development of representative bodies.

There is no doubt that the adopted policy line represents a reliable long-term basis for channeling all activities in this important sector of the life of our society.

In assessing the level which we attained, we must be able to answer the key questions--what advance did we make in comprehensively meeting the interests of society as a whole and contributing at the same time to satisfaction of the people, what improvements occurred in increasing the authority of national committees, in deepening their purposeful effect on everything that transpires in territorial entities and individual localities.

The findings made by the CSR Government confirm that the key objectives stipulated by the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee are being gradually implemented in the proceedings of plena, councils and commissions of national committees. They are starting to affect the consciousness of the citizenry and positively transform their relation to the missions and activities of representative bodies.

The situation was enhanced by the fact that in central organs as well as in regions and districts it became possible to suitably project policy orientations into individual documents. Nevertheless, the quality of the efforts that are being expended must still be improved considerably in many areas. The attained results still do not meet expectations and the created prerequisites.

We see the key reason for slow implementation of the promulgated goals primarily in bondage to old ways of thinking, sometimes it is a lack of daring and resolution, in many a case seeking of more effective approaches is supplanted by retreating before problems.

#### Social Role of National Committees

In keeping with the approved principles promulgated by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee, increased attention is devoted primarily to reinforcing the social role of national committees. The CSR Government analyzed in detail the prerequisites necessary for systematic improvement of the quality and political and professional responsibility of state administration. Their part became, e.g., laws delineating the rights and obligations of national committees of centralized seats of communities and delegating differentiated jurisdiction to individual municipal national committees. Among other things, the governmental directive regarding establishment of departmental and other units of national committees, model procedural rules for plenums, councils, commissions, model organizational rules, etc., merits independent mention.

These obligatory rulings document the systematic care of the CSR Government devoted to formation of a thematically and formally uniform basis for systematic /carrying out of the functions of national committees in the new stage of development of our society/. At the same time they represent /the beginning of a systematic effort oriented toward applying principles of efficiency in meeting contemporary and future tasks/.

These measures are presaged by an effort to grasp the increased requirements on the part of congressmen and officials, spurring toward knowledgeable use of legal entitlements and the selected approach--indubitably varied and multifaceted--to be accompanied by patience, consideration and forethought.

It stands to reason that such activity does not progress without encountering obstacles and scaling many a barrier. It is clear that the intended purpose could not be reached if, e.g., central seats of communities were to continue to work the same way they did years ago and see the import of changes merely in organizational measures or in wider jurisdiction in the sphere of administration. Equally mistaken are views that transfer the fulcrum of demands on the apparatus of the state.

Thus, of extraordinary importance is and will be well-considered and patient explanation of the orientations of all-round development of territorial entities and their potentials for the future as well as expounding of objectives that are acceptable under the present economic situation.

#### Central Seats of Communities--A New Quality

/Establishment of central seats of communities introduced into social practice a new quality/. We are only starting to learn and control its advantages and disadvantages and coping with the dangers they pose, as they could raise many a doubt in the eyes of the public.

Initial analyses confirm that a good outlook was established in those districts and regions which avoided haste, where they assiduously created conditions for transfer of entrusted jurisdictions and responsibilities, where they made sure that safeguards of reliable, highly skilled work be placed in the forefront and where they do not interpret the overall complex of problems as a nonrecurring act, but as a complex and sensitive process.

This directly concerns central organs as well. /It cannot succeed without deeper coordination, purposeful simplification of management, reduction of administrative demands/. It is also envisioned to provide informal help wherever there occur uncertainties, objections and critical comments. In this respect, we are still often at the very beginning and we are starting to realize that /even the best resolutions do not implement themselves but that hand-in-hand with them we must strive to enlist and organize a widely based body of advocates and rely on the supply of citizens/.

At the same time, knowledge of local conditions must contribute toward making the decisionmaking of higher levels of representative bodies better reflect current needs, rid it of unproductive paper shuffling, making it plainly understandable and unequivocal. For example, it is inadmissible that regulations of ministerial departments come into conflict with the amendatory act and detrimentally affect application of the expanded jurisdiction of our representative bodies, as was recently pointed out in the Czech National Council. There is need for a daring and uncompromising scrutiny of the specific causes of discrepancies and difficulties and striving for their elimination.

#### Harmonious Development of Cities and Communities

We also view the application of the principle of /differentiated regulation of harmonic development of cities/ from the same criteria. There is no doubt that the wide scope of problems dealt with by cities forces the latter to make use of any beneficial initiative and purposeful utilization of means and resources.

This involves extensive problems. Their key orientation is given by the letter of the law of the Czech National Council: /"Municipal national committees provide for planned development of cities and participate in dealing with problems of regional scope. They organize structural development of the city, create conditions for a healthy lifestyle and work in the city, develop cultural and ideological activities and defend public order and the rights of citizen...."/

The sheer weight of relegated duties and obligations, whether it concerns national committees of central seats of communities or municipalities, must also find its reflection much more expediently in the activities of district and regional national committees. The principle which holds that following well-trodden paths, remaining in the captivity of outworn traditions is a portent of backwardness, applies to them as well. And this applies not only to thematic content, but also to forms and methods of activity.

The recently undertaken surveys confirmed many unresolved problems. For example, what constitutes the elements of more effective management at the basic level of our representative bodies? What is being done to render assessment criteria more

precise and objective? What incentives are derived from inspections and checkups? What is being done to improve the qualifications of the administrative apparatus and its stabilization?

Clear-cut lessons must be drawn from acquired knowledge and findings.

What needs reminding is the /increasing responsibility for systematic activity by those national committees that were not delegated expanded jurisdiction/. It would be a mistake if they were to "remain in the shadow" of other committees.

We must endeavor to enrich traditions of good standing and well-considered goals for future stages to avoid stagnation at the attained level.

These starting points--which in their essence are common to all representative bodies--cannot be thought of separately from a systematic implementation of the additional basic set of objectives adopted by the Sixth Plenum "toward improved utilization of financial and material sources and local resources for meeting the needs of the people."

In detailing these objectives the CSR Government dealt primarily with the problems of improved social effectiveness in carrying out the political, organizational and economic functions of these organs.

It relied on the knowledge that deputies and officials of national committees are led in their efforts by an endeavor to promote in this area, too, the satisfaction of the populace, to eliminate some often superfluous difficulties. Reconciliation of these efforts with societal interests has not always succeeded in the past and an ill-considered accommodation of some demands led in its consequences to sapping of means that could have been used much more expediently in other areas.

A critical assessment of the findings made so far leads toward upgrading of the demands on managerial and organizational activity, obliging us to willingly cope with conflicts in the interest of promoting balanced development, strict adherence to the boundary separating unrealistic concepts from objectives that are of basic importance to most citizens and meet current economic conditions and needs.

#### Paying Increased Attention to Reimbursed Services

/Many justified reminders concern reimbursed services/. In many sectors there is still a lack of an adequate network of operational facilities, quality is lagging, long delivery deadlines persist. Here we also encounter indifference, lack of discipline, laggardness and even inflicting damage on customers.

It became indispensable to consider changes in planning and financing as well as in prices. We were guided by an endeavor to open up wider possibilities for smooth operation of socialist organizations that were entrusted with this mission. In keeping with the needs of the populace, we embarked on issuing some directives which liberalize performance of services by citizens on the basis of a permit from the national committee as well as establishment and operation of small operational facilities. The concept for development and continued utilization

of the capacities of local construction facilities also underwent a very thorough discussion. This provided a basis for planned improvement of this important sector of our economy.

The key orientation of upcoming development has been clarified and much will now depend on how we channel the initiative of individual organs of national committees and their subordinate organizations in their common effort. Understandably, much depends on economic prerequisites, but they could not suffice by themselves without the aid of purposefully applied inventiveness and activity.

However, we cannot succumb to illusions and take it for granted that the conditions that had been created only recently, will rid us of all difficulties in a matter of several weeks or months, when those difficulties had been accumulating for years. A sober, realistic approach is what is needed. However, it must not become an excuse for indolence, incompetence or hesitantly dragging one's feet. Not even the results achieved in the current year essentially meet the envisioned results.

Things will not progress at the same rate everywhere. Nevertheless, there should be no place that would condone mere passive looking on while reimbursed services are still being provided inadequately and slowly. Such an approach would sooner or later exact its toll. Today nobody can look for excuses that any more effective approach is being thwarted by regulations or lack of understanding. /The citizens will undoubtedly listen with interest to our resolve, but their appreciation will not come before they are expediently and specifically implemented/.

At the same time, this sphere represents only a single one of an entire set of tasks to the implementation of which representative bodies contribute to better satisfaction of the working public and its more intensive operational and political involvement.

Other problems must not be neglected either--whether they relate to good housing, caring for and improving the quality of available apartments, placement of children in nurseries and kindergartens, or the level of health care and cultural facilities, etc.

The generally satisfactory level which we have attained is marred by unnecessary shortcomings. Any justification could hardly be found for the fact, e.g., that a citizen must repeatedly bring up justified requests and in so doing encounters a wall of bureaucratic lack of understanding, that there are fluctuations in the supply situation, irregularities in transportation, an uncooperative attitude in enterprises providing meals to the public, etc.

In the eyes of the public, what measure of respect can be enjoyed by a national committee that for years on end has been recording justified complaints regarding repairs and maintenance of available housing and has done little toward improving matters, merely reiterating unconvincing reasons why this or another request cannot be accommodated. For that reason, we must demand more emphatically and uncompromisingly the eradication of such abuses.



Things are the same in negligent rendering of performance in some projects. This is borne out by the considerable number of defects that preclude acceptance of new apartments, highways that have to be repaired 1 year after their initial completion, wall plaster that will stay in place for only several months, etc. At the same time, those who delivered such "performances" as well as those who checked them, were as a rule well paid for quality performance. Wage funds must not be allocated with magnanimity and as a matter of course, but must be always a just reflection of actual contribution, actual merit.

#### Mere Combination of Resources Is Not the Answer

Dealing with these problems must be entered into much more resolutely than has ever been the case by enterprises and cooperatives. It is indispensable to promote closer cooperation between national committees and economic organizations. /Mere combination of resources is not the answer/. Such care must not terminate at the plant's gate or during a session of a representative body. It must be accorded its requisite position in everyday contact with the working public, so that it can gain support in its relations with economic management, on the one hand, and with the council or plenum of the national committee, on the other hand.

In meeting contemporary and future tasks, we see the focal point of cooperation between national committees and enterprises not only in its systematic application, but also in a more demanding and more versatile concept. After all, not even bodies of delegates cannot maintain indifference to such matters as what is the productivity of work facilities operating in the given territory, what advances were made in more effective introduction of the latest findings of science and technology, what is the standing of their products in foreign trade, what interferes with reinforcing improved work morale and discipline.

/An important position in the entire sphere of activities of national committees is held by the economy controlled by them/. For that reason, the focus of attention must be formed also by those basic measures that have an impact on the national economy as a whole, such as, e.g., meeting of export tasks by local production and service facilities; they also have to do with the sphere of transportation, trade, water management, capital construction, Project Z /community self-improvement program/, etc. Their impact does not leave out even wage development, savings of energy and other improvements in regional development.

This involves tasks that have an undisputed bearing on the effectiveness of our economy. The urgency with which they ought to be implemented is underlined by results of inspections which show that there is no lack of cases in which representative bodies do not always act and proceed from the viewpoint of promoting the benefits of the society as a whole. What response can there be, e.g., to exhortations to economizing, while on constructions projects in which the national committee is the investor wasting of material and financial resources is condoned? Exhortations to save fuels inevitably create doubts in places where highway repair has been dragging for several months and detours considerably prolong the driving distance. What good is done by convincing advertising of the values hidden in secondary raw materials when there is a lack in organization and utilization of their collection?

A conceptual and systematic approach by national committees is irreplaceable and presupposes systematic cooperation with all local economic organizations. If the mission of national committees has been mentioned many a time, /it is obvious that without all-round public control and systematic support, all their obligations cannot be conscientiously met/.

These were the very viewpoints the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee used to stress the importance of widening the participation of individuals and of groups in management. In keeping with his key principle, the CSR Government specified the objectives and methods for increasing the responsibility of delegates, commissions, councils and plenums and, among other things, also pointed out the contributions that can be made by discreet and well-conceived coordination in implementing the election platforms of the National Front.

We must take an honest and open stance against all obstacles in the path of implementation of the adopted principles. I refer specifically to, e.g., the still frequent cases of sessions of plenums or public meetings at which the agenda, proceedings and resolutions circumvent the acute problems of individual localities. Closing one's eyes when faced with difficulties, or even making excuses for them is a manifestation of poor political forethought.

#### Significant Role of Citizens' Councils

Of particular significant is the role played by /citizens' councils/. There are many localities, cities and large settlements where we can rely on their agile efforts. People appreciate and willingly contribute to implementation of tasks with which they are charged. Inventive ideas and organizational skill provide the background for harmonious coexistence in hosues and housing complexes and make it easier to deal with existing problems.

We offer extraordinary support to some new forms of activity, such as those represented as of late by, e.g., /settlement councils/. Under the party's leadership they coordinate the efforts of individual components of the National Front, organizations and institutions, point the way toward improved utilization of resources and toward viewing adopted objectives from a wider scope. And that is particularly valuable for the future.

Of decisive importance to developing of favorable trends and overcoming of difficulties is effective political help and careful evaluation of prospective problems by the party. The attention which the party devotes to the position and activities of representative bodies becomes reflected in both the thematic contents of policy documentations and in day-to-day efforts.

More widely based societal viewpoints are a source for improving the quality and effectiveness of political indoctrination activities. This once again confirms the experience that implementation of future tasks depends on the effectiveness of forming man with a socialist frame of thinking and acting.

A significant position is held in this respect by organizations of the National Front. The heretogeneous missions of social organizations make it possible to develop not only work brigade activities, e.g., youth participation in peak

loads of agricultural operations, the CSTV's /Czechoslovak Physical Education Association/ maintenance and upkeep of sports and physical training facilities, the Women's Association participation in the noninvestment part of Project Z, the participation of union members in beautification of the vicinity of plants and at the same time expanding the possibilities for social and cultural sharing. Mutual understanding breeds initiative which enriches our everyday life.

We must take particular care not to let good intentions be obstructed by nuisances such as formalism, excessive red tape, subjectivism and verbosity, so that we can take a more resolute stance against weakening of comradely ties and prosecute more strictly any infraction against the socialist system of law.

Resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee provided not only an incentive for contemplation of the past, but became first of all a guide to practical pursuits, toward overcoming stereotype habits, toward a thorough assessment of unused resources. Nevertheless, we are still at the very outset of long-term efforts for improving the quality of performance of economic and organizational, ideological and jurisdictional legal functions of representative bodies.

We must not be satisfied with partial successes, with progress made only in selected areas or just several--no necessarily the most important--directions. The best verification of how well we grasped the spirit of the policy promulgated by the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee can be rendered only by improvements in overall management and actual approaches of national committees to the development of cities and communities.

We must constantly keep in mind that a trustful attitude of citizens toward society and their creative participation in generation of new values form the basis for implementation of the adopted objectives.

8204

CSO: 2400/80

EDITORIAL URGES GREATER VIGILANCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] With the growing role of the national committees as the broadest representative organs of our people, with the ensuing jurisdiction and responsibility of their elected organs and deputies, there is also an increased demand for ideological, educational, political and organizational activity.

Long overcome are the times when this type of work remained merely on the periphery of interest in many elected organs, among deputies, officials and activist staffers of the national committees. On the contrary, by now through many electoral terms, it has become an inseparable part of all electoral programs of the National Front. It stems from practical application of experiences which show that purposefully implemented mass political work, ideological and educational activity, and especially practical agitation operations, have in the past been and will always remain of priority interest in ensuring the blossoming of our towns, villages and our entire socialist society.

The life-giving power of this work lies in the fact that it readily and convincingly informs citizens of all that is of importance, what is happening in our society and is being planned toward overall future progress in our communities. It attracts both adults and youth to active participation in all facets of life in these territorial aggregates and unites them in meeting our decisive tasks.

In localities where this activity is under the leadership of regional and district party organs and organizations, it is purposefully organized and developed to appoint where it is lawfully reflected in successful fulfillment of our building tasks and actions, as well as in the protection of our natural environment, public order and in many other areas.

However, there are also negative experiences which show that underestimating targeted educational and organizational programs has a harmful effect in terms of low public involvement and initiative, and insufficiently developed public life in communities. This can only be viewed as totally unnecessary harm and loss.

In past weeks, national committees in many regions and districts assessed, together with representatives of National Front organizations, industrial and agricultural enterprises, the manner in which electoral programs are being fulfilled at mid-term.

This assessment noted many gratifying facts in the educational and organizational sphere. First of all, it found that targeted and concrete mass political action contributed effectively to the development of broad political initiatives, that the number of projects increased with wide popular participation in the commemoration of important events and anniversaries. Many of them have now become a tradition and this year we have added others dealing with the struggle for the preservation of peace against the ever-increasing threat of war.

Much has been accomplished with the young in this sphere. The traditional "Conversations with Youth" have been supplemented by many new forms, by means of which even children of tender years are taught a correct posture toward their native towns and villages, and interest in their future employment in one of the plants or enterprises in their area.

In the year of the 30th anniversary of an important aktiv--the unions of citizen affairs--we have discovered new opportunities in the organization of various citizens' ceremonies and assemblies for all ages, as well as other findings and experiences.

First of all, we have still not overcome manifestations of "formalism" in assessing this activity, such as merely mechanical listing of the number of events and calculation of attendance. Certain officials claim that holding these events and ensuring respectable attendance should be enough. While there may be some truth in this reasoning, we should not succumb to harmful self-satisfaction. We should always ask the question of whether such "big" events fulfilled their goals, whether they provided answers to citizens' questions of paramount interest to them, whether they showed ways of resolving problems and shortcomings which torment the public, and whether they sufficiently affected people's thinking and behavior in harmony with the policies of our party.

To respond to these questions by drawing from them the necessary operational and long-term conclusions is admittedly more complicated and demanding by far than merely preparing numerical statistics. Yet, it is essential if we are to raise the effectiveness of political work in towns and villages.

Every single citizen will denounce a serious traffic accident caused by the influence of alcohol, or a murder, as dangerous acts against society. On the other hand, however, many tend to overlook theft of state or cooperative property, lack of labor discipline and various manifestations of carelessness and irresponsibility, especially if such acts are committed "cleverly."

The national committees must, therefore, struggle in a much more determined and specifically targeted manner against different abuses and their perpetrators. This applies especially to manifestations of sloth, selfishness,

local patriotism, inordinate amount of red tape and insensitive approach to people.

Management organizations must begin with their own home ground, in organs and enterprises under their direction. Not all officials and workers are sufficiently aware that this represents a constant struggle to enhance the authority of the national committees as the broadest representative organs of our people. Indeed, in practical terms, popular criticism is not addressed specifically against badly organized public supply, services or health care; people rather tend to criticize the entire national committee, and shortcomings of individuals are often interpreted as "flaws" of the entire socialist system.

Consequently, the need is not to concentrate merely on big events and campaigns, but rather to devote more attention to everyday mass political work. The national committees conduct this in close cooperation with organizations of the National Front and centrally-managed plants and institutions operating in their territories. There no longer remain any territorial organisms within our state where there is a lack of agreements, programs and plans for a joint approach in this sphere.

Much effort is devoted to their preparation. The need, however, is to translate these plans and declarations into everyday deeds, rather than merely measure their effectiveness by the number of meetings, consultations and aktivs; in other words, by asking the question of what benefit these activities have brought to the citizens.

Certain of the deputies must increase their participation in mass political work. They fall short in their responsibility to arm their constituents regularly with convincing facts and information on the intentions and tasks of territorial development, as well as the responsibility to listen to the people who elected them when they offer suggestions and voice complaints. The organizations of the National Front which had proposed the deputies to their important positions must, together with the national committees, make sure that these representatives maintain constant activism with respect to their responsibilities.

Party organs and organizations correctly encourage the national committees to apply consistently and purposefully the potent weapon of ideological education, with the participation of the broadest possible popular aktiv.

9496

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CPCZ-CPSL RELATIONSHIP, EVOLUTION SUMMARIZED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 21, signed to press 10 Oct 83 pp 28-31

[Article by Vaclav Cada: "A Unified International Party: In Honor of the 35th Anniversary of the Unification of the CPCZ and CPSL"]

[Text] One of the specific outcomes of the February victory of the working people in Czechoslovakia was the unification of the CPCZ and the CPSL--which had previously been organizationally separate--which took place at the end of September 1948 after the merger of the CPCZ with the social democrats.

The CPSL, according to the party constitution, is a territorial organization of the CPCZ, composed of the regional party organizations of Slovakia. The activities of the CPSL are governed by the resolutions of congresses and the CPCZ Central Committee. The current situation, which corresponds to the justified requirements as spelled out in Marxist-Leninist theory for the character of the leading force of our society and its policy, is a concrete result of the more than 60 year history of our party.

The creation of an independent CPSL was influenced by the situation following the breakup of the republic in 1939. Right after Munich and the defacto creation of the so-called post-Munich republic the party was forced in conjunction with preparations for the shift to illegality following the October 1938 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum, to create, in addition to an illegal central leadership (composed of E. Urx, V. and O. Synkova, J. Zika and E. Klima) an illegal, fully territorial party leadership in Slovakia (composed of J. Duris, L. Benada and J. Osoha).

In May 1939 this territorial leadership was reconstituted as the first illegal central leadership of the CPSL. Both illegal leaderships, which under the conditions of illegality functioned basically independently, were guided, however, by the Moscow CPCZ leadership under K. Gottwald. The Moscow leadership, also in cooperation with both domestic illegal leaderships, planned the strategic and tactical strategy of our party in the national liberation movement, which was then carried out by Czech and Slovak communists under the difficult and complex conditions of the anti-fascist struggle.

The CPCZ, CPSL, the Moscow leadership, and the domestic illegal central leaderships of the CPCZ and CPSL were able to draw upon the entire previous development of the party during their struggle for national and social liberation between 1938 and 1945. A new type of revolutionary party arose in Czechoslovakia from several relatively independently developing revolutionary streams in the workers movement of the new state which had been created in 1918. This process of the theoretical and ideological ripening of the Marxist left in the Czech lands and in Slovakia has its own peculiar character, because of both objective and subjective conditions. This was not so much a matter of the "specifics" of development in Slovakia compared with the Czech lands or vice versa, but of truly unique aspects conditioned by differing economic, social, political and nationality problems in the development of the workers movement in both parts of the newly created republic.

The process of creating a unified, international CPCZ was carried out in multinational Czechoslovakia by the unification not only of the Czech and German revolutionary currents but above all of the Czech and Slovak. The merging process of the CPCZ with the German branch of the CPCZ took place with the direct assistance of the Communist International in the summer of 1921 and was consummated at a merger congress. The process of the international unification of the Czech and Slovak proletariats (or the proletariat in Slovakia) had taken place earlier and was finalized at the Constitutional Congress of the CPCZ in May 1921.

Right at the Merger Congress of the CPCZ, however, some changes were made in the management of party work in Slovakia. In an attempt to strengthen the international character of the single communist party in Czechoslovakia this congress even eliminated the independent organ for the administration of party work in Slovakia, with the result that the entire Slovak communist movement was run by the so-called instructor, the CPCZ Central Committee, throughout the 1920's. This technique had certain weaknesses, however, which became evident during the 1920's. Here as well problems of the ideological and theoretical maturation of the party became evident. It is no accident, therefore, that Slovak communist functionaries attempted to make up for the nonexistent all-Slovak administrative organ with the creation of a commission of the CPCZ Executive Committee in Vrutke, and by the establishment of a central election secretariat for the general elections in 1923.

Immediately after the Fifth Congress, which ended an internal party crisis, adopted a consistently revolutionary strategy and established a new, Bolshevik leadership for the party, the so-called all-Slovak kraj was created in January 1930 at the Czechoslovak conference in Zilina. Because of its size it was further broken down, in contrast to the Czech krajs, into 9 obalsts, and these then into a further 12 okreses.

The all-Slovak kraj was a direct and integral component of the overall organizational structure of the CPCZ, and in the 1930's functioned as a territorial organization of the CPCZ. In Slovakia, in addition to plenums of the all-Slovak Kraj Committee, regular sessions of the all-Slovak



Conference were also convened. These meetings concerned themselves with the breaking down and specification of the resolutions of congresses and important plenary sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

After overcoming its social democratic heritage, the party worked its way, at its Second Congress, to a Leninist conception of the nationality issue (and within the context of this to the Slovak nationality issue). It was not until the 1930's, however, after its Fifth Congress, that the party found the most appropriate forms and techniques for work in Slovakia. This came at a time when a new generation of communist functionaries had matured and was able to conduct itself according to Moscow's orders, under the difficult conditions following the destruction of the republic, in running the activities of an independent CPSL.

During the entire period of the national liberation struggle, when the CPCZ and the CPSL had to work illegally and quite independently, and when the illegal central leadership in the Czech lands and in Slovakia had to adopt programmatic objectives and tactics which would correspond to their own objective situations, the Moscow leadership of the party embodied the ideologically political and organizational unity of the entire Czechoslovak communist movement. The Moscow leadership also took care of the interpretation and elaboration for the entire fragmented republic of the famous resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of 5 January 1943. In the summer of 1943 it sent R. Vestiska to the occupied Czech lands and K. Schmidke to Slovakia. It was this K. Schmidke who was able, along with G. Husak and L. Novomesky, to create in Slovakia the new fifth illegal central leadership of the CPSL, which prepared the Slovak National Uprising.

The CPSL, led by the fifth illegal central leadership, was able, during the preparations for and actual course of the Slovak National Uprising, to resolve complex theoretical and practical political questions, gain the leading role in the national liberation struggle of the Slovak people, and become an important factor in the process of forming the new, postwar Czechoslovakia. Moreover, the CPSL considered itself to be an integral component of the Czechoslovak communist movement, in accordance with its programmatic objectives. Right on the eve of the uprising, the fifth illegal central leadership, through K. Schmidke, informed the Moscow party leadership about the overall situation in Slovakia. For its part, the Moscow leadership of the party adopted on 23 August 1944 a document entitled "On Certain Objectives of the National Liberation Movement in Slovakia" and sent K. Sverma to the assistance of the Slovak communists.

The CPSL drew on its experiences from the time of the Slovak National Uprising when drafting the program for the first postwar government of the National Front in March 1945. Even though the CPSL stuck by its own viewpoints on several important issues (particularly regarding the basic characteristics of the revolutionary process in Slovakia and the national legal organization of the newly established republic), its leading functionaries came to understand, after conversations with K. Gottwald, the need for a unified approach on the part of Czechoslovak communists

in setting up the new independent Czechoslovakia and subordinated themselves to the needs of revolutionary development throughout the republic.

By the same token, the representatives of the Moscow leadership of the party unanimously were in favor of recognizing the rights of the Slovak people and the Slovak National Council as its sole political representative. The communists were able to push these views through and have them inserted in the Kosice government program, despite the opposition of the bourgeoisie. This document described the relations among the Czechs and Slovaks as "of equals with equals."

The organizational expression of this reality in the policies of Czechoslovak communists was the organizational delimitation of the activities of the CPCZ and the CPSL. Based on the overall activities of the party during the national liberation struggle, but also because of the principle of not wanting to create a nationwide political party, the CPCZ restricted its authority to the Czech lands, and the CPSL worked in Slovakia as an independent political party. On the suggestion of K. Gottwald, however, as early as the Kosice gathering a 17-member joint leadership was created along with a smaller presidium, which originally consisted of K. Gottwald, K. Schmidke, R. Slansky, V. Kopecky, V. Nosek and V. Siroky.

The original ideas concerning the overall activity of the party in the liberated republic were of course correlated to the qualitatively new circumstances in international and domestic political developments after 1945. The joint leadership of the party met only once, and the presidium also did not function as planned. Even though the Eighth CPCZ Congress elected no member of the CPSL to the presidium, V. Siroky and J. Duris participated in its discussions on what amounted to a regular basis, and the presidiums of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee both met to discuss serious strategic and tactical issues.

The CPCZ developed its activities in the Czech lands and the CPSL did likewise in Slovakia throughout the period of the metamorphosis of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Given the political system of popular democracy, where noncommunist parties constantly attempted to restrict participation in the system to solely political organizations, the organizational independence of the CPCZ and the CPSL was advantageous for communist policies. The organizational independence of both parties, however, did not mean that there were ideologically political differences between them. In all basic strategic and tactical issues the activities of the CPCZ and CPSL were identical. It was in this sense also that the resolution of certain basic issues concerning the status of Slovakia within the republic had to be subordinated to the fundamental issue of the process of the emerging revolution, i.e., the potential for resolving the issue of political power.

All the reasons for the organizational independence of the CPSL were removed by the February victory of the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party. The objective conditions ripened during post-February developments for a return by the CPCZ to full international unity

of the sort implied by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the base of the leading role of the party.

K. Gottwald was the first to propose an organizational merger of the CPCZ and the CPSL, at the CPCZ Central Committee Plenum of 9 June 1948. He stated that "...the existence of an independent CPSL would be detrimental to day to day activities, the republic and the communist movement." The CPCZ Presidium adopted specific conclusions and resolutions on the overall issue of a merger on 20 June 1948, and these resolutions were then fully reflected in the "Resolutions of the CPSL Central Committee Plenum Regarding the Formation of a Unified Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" of 28 September 1948.

The formation of a unified party meant that the CPCZ Central Committee would set policy for the entire party, manage its political activities throughout the country, and that the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Presidium would be binding as well for all party organs and organizations in Slovakia. The CPSL retained authority over and responsibility for managing the activities of communists in Slovak national organs, the Slovak National Council, and the Board of Commissioners. CPCZ territorial organizations in Slovakia retained the traditional name, CPSL, and their authority extended to the entire party structure in Slovakia. In this regard, the resolution of the September CPSL Central Committee Plenum read "The CPSL Central Committee and its Presidium manages, organizes and controls the political and organizational work of party members and organizations in Slovakia within the context of the political, tactical and organizational guidelines of the CPCZ Central Committee, and carries out independent policy within the context of congress resolutions of the CPCZ, the CPCZ Central Committee, and CPSL congress."

The full international unity of the CPCZ and the CPSL in the formation and implementation of a unified policy giving power to the unity of the people and the cohesiveness of our nations was one of the basic preconditions of the historic successes which have been achieved in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. It was not by chance that at the end of the 1960's a fierce political struggle had to be waged for this unity with rightwing opportunist forces in the party which were attempting to destroy all the basic values of socialism, partially through the fragmentation of the CPCZ along nationalist lines. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the activities of the party leadership of that time also displayed some shortcomings in resolving the relationships between the CPCZ and the CPSL. The rightwing opportunist forces were attempting to exploit these shortcomings and to build their position upon them.

It was precisely in this area that the new leadership of the party, under the leadership of G. Husak, and Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCZ and CPSL hierarchy played an exceptionally important role. In the sharp ideologically political conflict with the rightists, they gradually asserted a solution which assisted the development of the consolidation process and successfully completed it. Then, at the 14th CPCZ Congress the party statutes were amended to read that even with the federal

organization of the state, the CPCZ remains a unified, international and centralized party. Developments throughout the subsequent period have unambiguously confirmed the propriety of this resolution, which represents one of the basic preconditions for the future successful building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

9276

CSO: 2400/71

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INADEQUATE INDUSTRIAL SAFETY ENFORCEMENT CRITICIZED

Public Prosecutor Protests

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Heide Schlebeck: "Small Causes Can Have Great Effects"]

[Text] At MLK (the metal light construction combine), a 45-year old welder was killed in a serious industrial accident. He was about to put up a 15-meter steel beam by a bridge crane. As a stock rail he wanted to put a support on the crane. But the crane operator mistook one of his hand motions, thought it was a command and pulled the load up without first checking whether it was firmly attached. The support fell and hit the welder.

The crane operator will have to face charges before the court.

Investigations then revealed deficiencies in health and labor safety devices in the enterprise. A public prosecutor at Lichtenberg city-district court raised hell. He called for repairing legality at once and to do away with a degree of insouciance, the expectation that nothing would happen to so experienced a colleague. He called for conducting labor safety instruction regularly in the future and for delineating the responsibility areas of the chiefs more precisely so that no empty spaces remain and everyone understands where he has to ensure labor safety.

Another point of the memo calls for further comment. The prosecutor was also involved recently in the conversation in which the enterprise manager and other top associates of MLK informed officials of the public prosecutor's office, the labor safety inspectorate of the FDGB bezirk executive committee and the State Office for Technical Supervision of the measures taken. One of it is working out a special technology for making steel beams, and that includes their transport and transshipment processes.

The transport and transshipment of goods are major causes for accidents in other enterprises as well. They have not always kept step with other areas where the application of progressive scientific-technical data also makes working methods safer. Especially in transport, experience still means so much. Much is done by yelling.

There has existed a so-called skeleton technology for making steel beams in MLK. Is that perhaps not enough? Do they not, by preparing detailed labor instructions, ultimately make efforts that are too much to ask and are unnecessary?

The men of the brigade involved here are trained welders. But they have to move the beams and also know the regulations for operating the crane. Yet can and must one not do more still for labor safety?

The piece to be moved on the day of the accident had a length of 18 meters and weighed 3 tons. When dealing with such loads a worker must know exactly where to grab it and where to step and how to secure the move if he has to make an escape. Such rules for conduct are among the basic labor safety demands. They must be included in the special technology the prosecutor asked for; and there are legal regulations for such a demand. That technology, the MLK enterprise manager reported, is now ready and is being introduced in practice.

Another problem that evidently had something to do with the accident and can also be found in other enterprises: They do not always work accurately with the equipment entrusted to them. There are mandatory rules, to be sure, about the signals between the crane operator and the people who do the loading, yet there are places where one evidently considers conscientious procedures as pedantry, and the crane operator uses his own, usually simplified, signals. And that can cause bad misunderstanding and serious accidents. That does not have to be so and must not be so, once labor safety becomes a principle on every job.

Managers therefore cannot accept such violations of health protection and labor safety. They must see to it that everyone obeys legal provisions--in his own and in the economic interest.

#### Inspection Duties Outlined

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 140, 1 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by Dr. Uwe Rieger, State Secretariat for Labor and Wages: "Safety Inspectors in all Enterprises?"]

[Text] Safety inspectors work in all state organs, economic management organs, combines, enterprises and facilities and cooperatives. Whether in an enterprise several safety inspectors have to be assigned, a safety inspectorate is to be formed, or the safety inspector is to be assigned additional tasks all depends on the prevailing conditions. Mainly the production profile, the size and structure of the enterprise, the working tools and methods and the workshops themselves as well as the risks the working conditions give rise to play a role.

The managers of the next-higher organs together with the trade union executive committees concerned make the necessary decisions on that. The basis for them are streamlined criteria set down by the heads of the central state organs and the bezirk council chairmen, who take the specifics in their area of responsibility into account.

As labor safety experts the safety inspectors advise and support enterprise managers expertly on the various problems and tasks in labor safety as it relates directly to the production process or labor cycle. That is why they are directly accountable to them. Under their orders they manage department and section chiefs, foremen and other executive personnel and keep a control on how well labor safety is observed in all those areas.

Sometimes there is the notion that the safety inspectorate or the safety inspector are solely responsible for labor safety. That is erroneous. The state manager is responsible. How his responsibility, decisions and measures become effective, that to be sure largely depends on the quality of work done by the safety inspectorate or the safety inspector.

The function, tasks, rights and duties and the qualification prerequisites for the safety inspectors are set down specifically in the Labor Code, the labor safety decree and the second implementing regulation for the labor safety decree. They are rendered specific in terms of the prevailing conditions and are enforced in the combines, enterprises and facilities and cooperatives. But great differences are shown in how that is done. The safety inspectors see to it tenaciously that labor safety is still more ensured as a solid component of all that goes on in the enterprise and that accidents and breakdown are more effectively prevented.

5885

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIVIL DEFENSE MEASURES FOR RURAL AREAS OUTLINED

Civil Defense Training in Magdeburg Bezirk

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 5 1983 (signed to press 19 Jul 83) p 4

[Article by Hans-Georg Raecke, chairman, Vahldorf-Neuenhofe LPG (T): "We Are Organizing the Protection of Agricultural Production; Results, Experiences, Knowledge"]

[Text] Our LPG [agricultural producer cooperative] in Magdeburg Bezirk produces milk, pork and wool. It furthermore has to supply its cooperation partners with sucklers and calves for fattening or breeding. The LPG's contract area stretches over four communities and is therefore broken down into territorial production departments. Pursuant to Articles 5 and 6 in the GDR Defense Law, the chairman, board and management personnel have organized the protection of the work force, the production and the basic assets from any noxious effects.

For fulfilling the tasks of the ZV [civil defense], I myself, as the chairman and thus as the manager of the ZV, bear the overall responsibility. The managers on all levels fulfil ZV tasks in their sector on the basis of functional duties. Through permanent educational efforts, the department chiefs train the brigade members in ZV basics. The theoretical knowledge provided there is reinforced through exercises and assignments and applied in practice.

We Have Gained Experiences and Knowledge

We have fine results to show for in civil defense work in recent years--in our LPG as well as in the territory. We have gained so much practical knowledge and practical experiences that I should like to summarize some of them in the following.

First: Prerequisite to a good showing in civil defense is enforcing order and safety and ensuring smooth operations. That is possible only through joint efforts between management and all employees under SED basic organization leadership. I would like to show how this works in two areas of our efforts.

--Resolutely abiding by and constantly improving labor discipline, enforcing the operational order, watching the order on livestock infectious diseases and the order on breakdown, fire protection and other documents are imperative for fulfilling the special tasks in the ZV.



The better the work gets organized and the more initiative-rich the workers are in going about the fulfilment of their ordinary production tasks, the more effectively the ZV requirements are taken care of as well. That was clearly brought out, e.g., by a ZV exercise last fall.

--What with the high degree of technization in our dairy production, special importance accrues to making enough energy available for ventilation and to protecting the cattle from infectious diseases, to feeding operations and water and livestock feed supplies. Taking care of quality parameters every day and maintaining effective disinfection measures to fight epidemics of all sorts have brought all those who take care of the livestock to the realization in the course of the years that alternatives in production protection--even under the consequences of a possible use of bacteriological and chemical applications and radiation effects--are not only possible but can indeed be carried out with success.

Second: In solving ZV tasks, close territorial collaboration has stood up well--as indeed also in normal everyday production. The board and its commissions and the cooperation council bear a great responsibility to that.

Constant collaboration with the local communal councils and the enterprises in the territory, such as the Vahldorf cheese factory, the use of all the potential available, and involving all social forces and the entire territorial population has all greatly helped in fulfilling ZV tasks more efficiently.

The campaign program of the basic SED organization directs us toward mobilizing all our strength for the loftiest goal of mankind--the preservation and safeguarding of peace. The effort for optimum results in ZV work is inseparable from that.

Third: As high points in training ZV exercises have done well here too. Let us take our exercise in fall last year. ZV delegates from all agricultural enterprises in the kreis took part in it. It got special recognition through the presence of the council chairman of Haldensleben Kreis, the ZV chief of staff of Magdeburg Bezirk and other authoritative associates.

The exercise confirmed the positive results of our many years of education and training and showed what we still have to improve in the future. All those attending the exercise, including the chiefs, tried hard personally to fulfil the tasks and could be proud of it. In their analysis they were unanimously of the opinion that some elements must be practised more intensively still and that more must be made of experience exchange toward applying the knowledge of the best in a still more relevant and practical way.

Fourth: Material and moral recognition of civil defense activities in the intra-enterprise contest has proven a worthwhile incentive. Financial means are being made available for paying tribute for good results in improving operational readiness, in training and in exercises.

#### Some Tasks for the Near Future

While evaluating the primarily positive results of ZV work in our LPG, we have drawn appropriate inferences for the near future to ensure a continuing high operational readiness by our task forces. Some of the tasks ahead may be mentioned in my conclusion:

--We want to recruit still more women and girls for active ZV work. In setting up special ZV teams in agriculture, we want to see to it that the proportion of women comes to 40 percent in them. To that end, some prejudices have to be done away with yet, particularly among the male chiefs.

--We want to make still more effective the collaboration between the executive organs and task forces and the communities and territorial enterprises.

--Within the framework of socialist defense education, we pay special attention to our youth (circa 10 percent of the people working with us, after all, are below 25).

We want to bring it about that as many girls as possible and boys who for health reasons are not found fit for military service prove their willingness to serve by active involvement in civil defense.

--Based on the relevant order from the head of the ZV of the GDR and our own experiences, we shall conduct the training for all who are working here in ZV basics, train the task forces better and ensure high attendance. That is what I consider an important leadership task for myself and all managers.

--As a contribution to the GDR's defense readiness in the Karl Marx Year that is coming to an end and in preparation of the 35th anniversary of our republic, I should like to make our experiences with protecting agricultural production also available to other enterprises. For that purpose we are going to prepare, based on an innovator suggestion, documentation on building a sector for instruction in the deactivation and decontamination of cattle by means of the technology available in agriculture.

#### Civil Defense Efforts in Neubrandenburg

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 5 1983 (signed to press 19 Jul 83) p 5

[Article by Joachim Dinse, Neubrandenburg Bezirk Council: Neubrandenburg Activities for the Protection of Agricultural Production"]

[Text] Ever more effectively are we using our latest knowledge and best experiences in agricultural protection for further improving the civil defense in the towns and communities, enterprises and cooperatives in our bezirk. Experiences we have gathered particularly by such ZV measures as the exercise of the two cooperatives in Priborn, the testing in the Krien community, which involved all agricultural enterprises but also parts of the enterprises in farm technology and the foodstuffs economy, and the complex training measure in Teterow are now being generalized in their whole breadth. All this reinforced our realization always to focus on three aspects in the protection of agricultural production:

First: What matters is clearly to demonstrate to all management personnel and working people in enterprises and cooperatives the complex territorial responsibility for solving all civil defense tasks in a community or town to achieve increasingly more unified action, regardless of production trends or the direct

lines of command. Then, through various agreements, the role and accountability the cooperation councils have for ZV measures are heightened, especially in tasks that can be resolved only through cooperation--e.g. in crop and livestock production. That includes, e.g., ensuring a drinking water supply and reserve for an emergency, the joint use of equipment for supply tasks, and the personnel reinforcement for operational forces--all this with the primacy of obtaining a high protective value in livestock production.

Best results have already been achieved where the ZV leadership organs from the various areas of territorial agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs operate out of one leadership base, jointly hold documents for the protection and maintenance of production and the unified coordination and leadership are actively undertaken in a community by the ZV leader.

Second: All protective measures, to be effective, must be prepared and practiced in such a way that they are also effective under extreme weather conditions such as the heavy snowfall in 1978/79 or the winter storms in 1982/83 or the heavy downpours in the spring of 1983. We allow for the possibility of temporary power blackout, for streets and roads becoming unmanageable, and for some of the means of production not being available where they should be.

Priorities in this training are: preparing in livestock production the kind of protective measures that are particularly aimed at:

- ensuring livestock feed supplies in all vegetation periods in such a way that through interruptions of supplies from the outside and by using stored fodder for brief periods no essential losses occur;
- providing drinking water supply when centralized water supply installations are interrupted through makeshift solutions;
- preparing a graduated use of emergency power supply in the larger livestock production plants and testing the milking of cows under complicated conditions;
- determining the precise points in time for the packing/aerating/controlling of livestock and arranging for necessary decentralizations according to plan;
- training to a larger extent for the special treatment of large cattle stocks; for this solutions have been developed that are available to the LPG's such as the conversion of pasture milking stands in laundries, the use of parts of irrigation installations and so forth; and
- practicing the whole complex of measures in fighting against livestock epidemics, demonstrating here the use of lock-basins in epidemics and designing suitable extension or reconstruction solutions for enterprises and LPG's.

In crop production we concentrate in particular on testing techniques for resolving specific measures such as spraying, washing and sweeping, lifting techniques, leveling and clearing and the protection of the stored raw materials and products.

Third: Through continued economic specialization and the ever higher degree of mechanization, new civil defense tasks will arise for our branch in the economy requiring new solutions for protecting agricultural production. Therefore, one of our ZV innovator collectives has come out with a catalogue with current use variants which contains all technical data, costs, periods and material involved, needed for reusing the technical solutions for the various aggregates in disasters and the defense situation. This study will also be shown in the ZN innovator exhibition in 1983.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SED CC MEMBER ON ROLE OF WORKERS' MILITIA IN INTERNAL SECURITY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 13 Jul 83)  
pp 756-762

[Article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, military scholar; member, SED Central Committee; SED Central Committee Department Chief: "We Protect What We Have Acquired"]

[Text] The Workers' Militia of the GDR have been in existence for 30 years now. That is a brief period of history. But regarding its revolutionary content and the events of change in the life of our people, it has been a dynamic period of extraordinary weight in our history.

The role of the workers' militia in our socialist society turns their anniversary into an overall social cause. They, after all, together with the other armed organs, and fully in the sense of Lenin's insight, attest to the will to self-defense by the workers class and all working people in the GDR, freed from exploitation. They proclaim their resolve always reliably to protect the accomplishments of our workers and farmers power under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party.

The meaning of what Lenin said more than 50 years ago about the defense of the young Soviet power also applies to the birth and growth of the GDR: "Without the armed defense of the socialist republic we could not prevail. The ruling class will never surrender its power to the suppressed class. It, rather, must prove by deeds that it can not only overthrow the exploiters but also can invest everything in organizing its self-defense."\*

#### Creating, Preserving and Consolidating Peace

In the workers' militia anniversary we commemorate a day that gives us "directions for the class struggle, guidelines for action,"\*\* to quote the words of the great German working class leader and cofounder of the revolutionary proletarian defense organization, the Red Front Banner, our unforgettable Ernst Thaelmann.

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Eighth CPR(B) Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 138.

\*\*Ernst Thaelmann, "The Lessons of the Hamburg Insurrection," "Geschichte und Politik" (History and Politics), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1973, p 26.

In our days that means help lend the main concern of mankind, the preservation of peace, new impulses, further strengthen the chief force for peace in the world, real socialism, and stop the most aggressive imperialist forces in the United States and other NATO states, through whose arms buildup policy we are now dealing with a world situation "in which the danger of nuclear war casts a shadow over the life of the nations, an inferno which, in case it breaks out, would mean the self-annihilation of humanity. To prevent it and ensure secure peace is the most important thing in our time."\*

We are always aware of Lenin's reminder that especially today proves of the highest relevance: aggressiveness is inherent in imperialism. That is attested to by the perilous--and for the peoples' concerned, terrifying--local and regional wars, including the so-called wars by proxy, which imperialism alone has kindled and encouraged within the last 38 years. Its expansionist drive for a redistribution of the world, particularly after the destruction of real socialism, could be bridled only thanks to the might and strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist states allied with it.

Nuclear surprise attack--lately based on the thesis of a possible first strike of annihilation--against the vital centers of the socialist states has become the predominant variant in the arsenal of the imperialist warfare doctrine. Imperialist policy in practice also forces us to keep in mind the other variants in imperialist war preparation, the "containment" and "rollback" of real socialism, including the export of the counterrevolution and conducting covert war. The machinations against our fraternal socialist country of Poland and the destabilization operations against the progressive development in Nicaragua and other countries demand our being always vigilant and wary of the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces.

On the dividing line between socialism and imperialism, between the socialist defense coalition and the aggressive NATO, our party's and our socialist state's military policy always pays proper attention to the peace-endangering intrigues from the most aggressive imperialist circles to safeguard peace and ensure at all times the reliable protection of our socialist construction effort. That expresses in our military policy the essential unity between peace and socialism: socialist military policy is peace policy. This, as all our policy, is aimed at creating all the necessary prerequisites for that never again will war emanate from German soil.

In our country too socialism is deeply rooted forever; there are no classes or strata that would make money from war preparations, accumulate armaments profits, or be interested in any expansion. Also in our socialist society--as more than 70 years ago in Lenin's land--peace has found forever a firm home, its supreme principle being what was proclaimed even in the hour of birth of real socialism, in 1917, to the peoples on the earth in the peace appeal of the new society: creating, preserving, consolidating peace.

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\*Erich Honecker, "Speech at the International Science Conference Sponsored by the SED Central Committee on 'Karl Marx and Our Time--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress,'" EINHEIT, No 5, 1983, p 423.

Since then real socialism has proven itself the main force of peace and progress in the world. Relying on the advantages and potentials of real socialism, it has mainly been the constructive and prudent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, including the GDR, which has seen to it that the positive trend in world developments, the advance by the forces of peace and social progress, develops further. This policy is wholly in the spirit of the demand by Karl Marx that the workers class "is aware of its own responsibility and able to command peace while those who want to be its overlords clamor for war."\*

#### The Protection of Our Accomplishments--Important Contribution to Preserving Peace

From the hour of its birth real socialism has been forced to defend peace and social progress also by military means. As the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, also the GDR had to defend itself against many attempts by aggressive imperialist forces to undermine the workers and farmers power and destroy our accomplishments. Thereby they repeatedly provoked peace-endangering situations in Europe that could be deactivated only through the resolute and prudent attitude of the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community--not last also through military might. Securing our workers and farmers power and the reliable protection of the GDR is therefore an important task not only to ensure our accomplishments but, with it, an internationalist obligation to the consolidation of peace in Europe. Together with the other armed forces, the workers' militia in the GDR is making a great contribution to it.

Set up 30 years ago under SED leadership for the protection and defense of the then still young workers and farmers power against the counterrevolutionary schemes in the summer of 1953, they demonstrated the ability of the SED to apply fundamental lessons of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete historic conditions in our republic. By setting up and developing the workers' militia, our party made a creative contribution to the further development of the theory on the defense of the socialist revolution and proved that it was possible and purposeful to make the military potentials of the production workers and other working people, under our party leadership, directly and effectively applicable to the protection of the socialist revolution. In this it could rely on the CPSU's rich experiences in the successful defense of the socialist revolution and in the revolutionary German working class struggles, especially those of its revolutionary defense organizations.

The workers' militia "in a particular way, embody the military organization of the producing and power-exercising working class whereby it provides permanence for the fruits of its revolutionary activity."\*\* They are forms of organization Leninist in type which "kept together by a unified iron will, are able to act cohesively and sacrificially in ordinary life as well as, and particularly, in

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\*Karl Marx, "Speech to the National Labor Union in the United States," Marx/Engels, "Werke" Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 356-357.

\*\*Erich Honecker, "All Our Strength for the Well-being of Working Man," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 192.

critical moments in the people's life."\* Their main task it is, under the leadership by our party, permanently to ensure high fighting strength and combat readiness and always to be ready to fulfil conscientiously all tasks assigned in bezirk and kreis territories alongside the NVA, the border troops of the GDR and the German People's Police.

Loyally devoted to the SED, the worker's militia of the GDR have reliably fulfilled every party mission in their now 30 years of history, often under complicated conditions. The scale of their operations ranges from eliminating the consequences of natural disasters (e.g. in the spring of 1954 and in the winter 1978/79) to demonstrative acts in turning back subversive schemes to the securing of our national border in 1961. "In the truest sense of the word we then, most closely allied with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, showed the German and international monopoly capital the limits of its power. Through their operational readiness, the worker's militia helped preserve the peace."\*\* Acid tests today mainly are the coping with ambitious training objectives without dents made on production and increasing fighting strength and operational readiness.

Our militia also embody an awareness-forming capacity. They are a school for socialist education, especially socialist defense education. At the same time, each militia member demonstrates the conscious and active exercise of civic rights and duties every GDR citizen enjoys in protecting his socialist fatherland, increasing public wealth, and enforcing socialist modes of conduct everywhere. It is surely no coincidence that what a member of the militia has to say about matters of national defense means a lot to many adolescents--not a few of them are relatives of the fighters, their sons, brothers or grandsons.

Not last, the strength of the militia comes out of the tradition that extends from the revolutionary defense organizations of the workers movement to the time that a particular militia unit was set up and, often, down to the development of a given enterprise. This tradition is unbroken also due to the fact that the first militia formations were led by antifascist resistance fighters--by comrades who remained loyal to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism in hardest times, be it in resistance groups, behind the walls of fascist dungeons or the barbed wire of concentration camps, or in the ranks of the fighters in Spain, on the side of the Soviet Army, or in partisan formations in European countries during World War II. They also were the activists of the first hour after the crushing of Hitler fascism. Many militia units today wear the names of those men on the bows of their flags.

What, finally, typifies the role of the militia in our society is that each and every of its members is integrated in the overall social reproduction process: Militia members are, first and foremost, direct producers of material goods or working people in other sectors of the economy. Their primary task is their contribution to fulfilling the national economic plans, regardless of the enterprise or sector, the sphere or the function in which they are engaged. Their

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Seventh CPR(B) Congress," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 106.

\*\*Erich Honecker, "Our Militia Help Make Peace More Secure," "Reden und Aufsätze," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 357.

service to the armed protection of our country also is voluntary; in their leisure time they are training in the military field, acquire solid military and military-technical knowledge and learn to cope with the weapons and other equipment entrusted to them. All this is done without pay and outside of their regular jobs.

The specialist, the engineer, the enterprise manager and the scientist are found shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the militia. Nearly all occupations are represented. An unaffiliated person as much as a member of the SED Kreis Management will equally fulfil their class mission, voluntarily and in conscious discipline. Our women also have a great share in the development of the militia. As spouses, brides, sisters and mothers they are strengthening through their understanding the men's dedication and personal readiness. They deserve much gratitude. Even within the militia female members have a solid place; they receive special stroking and cuddling.

#### Characteristic Traits of Our Militia

As in all other armed organs, also in our militia the main source of development lies in our party's leadership role. It is found mainly in the following: --The worker's militia of the GDR are led in every situation, in times of peace and times of tension, in the process of training and in their assignments, by our party directly, that is to say, by the leading party organizations in question;

--the resolutions of the SED Central Committee and the other executive bezirk and kreis party organs are authoritative instructions for them, and other orders and instructions in their service depend on them;

--in the units, the communists set examples for providing a clear friend-foe image, for high revolutionary vigilance, iron discipline and skilled training results--in close comradely cooperation with the unaffiliated fighters; and

--the commanders and those who are responsible for political work--all volunteers--act in accordance with the principle of the unity between political and military leadership, and they constantly seek a deepening of party education and a party-minded, frank atmosphere in all collectives.

Voluntary task forces, the "militia" of the SED bezirk and kreis managements, have a particularly responsible task. They help ensure a constant direction and control over the implementation of the resolutions from the executive party organs.

Our party and government leadership has always paid very much attention to the worker's militia. That is indicated by the development of the material-technical funds allocated to the militia and by the social welfare and health care they are given and, not last, by the great tribute of social rank paid to them.

The time since the Eighth SED Congress has also been most fruitful for the militia. The training and continuing education system was made more effective on a scientific basis, an appropriate foundation being laid for it. Important is their development into strong fighting units with stable personnel and expert commanding officers. Equipped with the resolutions from the 10th SED Congress, the fighters and junior and senior commanders seek the further improvement in the fighting strength and combat readiness of their units. The training results have further improved while the participation by all militia members has remained equal, and high.



Mainly also the managements of the enterprise party organizations and the executive bezirk and kreis party organs have had an important share in the fine development of the militia. First secretaries and members of the secretariats take part in important training measures, inform themselves periodically about the situation by inspecting training facilities, analyse the training results and conduct activists conferences on basic matters in further militia development.

A source for new important militia initiatives are our party's Central Committee resolutions that are paying tribute to their 30-year history. They reflect the constant care by our party executive, especially by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee, for further militia development and the nature of party military policy as aimed at the defense and protection of our revolutionary accomplishments and, hence, at the safeguarding of peace.

What the people creates is protected by the people. That truth conforms to the entire 30 years of history of the worker's militia of the GDR. They are one of our revolutionary accomplishments, the surety for the security of our workers and farmers power, a significant factor of peace, the suitably equipped and militarily well trained instrument of the workers class in the socialist GDR. Through their stance and deeds the worker's militia of the GDR working class become a synonym for loyalty and dedication to the SED, for high consciousness, discipline and dedication.

Firmly convinced that as militia members they exercise an activity that is directed at the security of the GDR, is honorable, politically and socially significant, and preserves peace, the fighters, and the junior and senior commanders, perform outstanding acts in production and in the protection of our socialist fatherland.

5885

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, AUGUST 1983

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 13 Jul 83)  
pp 797, 799

Intensively Expanded Reproduction: Revolutionary Process

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member, SED Central Committee; rector, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; and member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 719-724. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "SED Official on Need for Changes to Promote Economic Flexibility," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The dynamic development of science and technology, of the economy as of the society, is an essential feature of socialist society. Its successful development largely depends on how this dynamics is controlled and deliberately shaped according to plan. How do we face the tasks that come with the consistent implementation of our intensively expanded reproduction? What attaches a qualitatively new place value to the active, creative participation by all working people in making the requisite dynamics prevail? Inseparable from the dynamics of socialist society is the growing role played by the party.

Reciprocal Relationship Between Basic Research and Production

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Werner Scheler, member, SED Central Committee and president, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 725-732. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Research Potential Seen Inadequate to Meet Economic Needs," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] It is a fundamental task in the shaping of the developed socialist society to control ever better the interdependence of science, technology and production. What is the function and place of basic research in the reproduction process? How does one measure the innovative effect of science? Which substantive orientation stands in

the forefront in basic research? What questions arise when basic research data are carried over into production? How can the planning of science and technology and the organization of the interlinking between research and production be made still more effective?

#### On Introducing New Working Principles in Production

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schiller, deputy director, Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute; pp 733-739. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Research Potential Seen Inadequate to Meet Economic Needs," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The working style required for research oriented to practice, especially to technological research, is presented on the basis of personal experiences. How is a research collective to be motivated and stimulated? What distinguishes a creative and productive work atmosphere? How does one encourage risk readiness in research? What results come from rapidly carrying research data over into production? Which managerial and ideological consequences are connected with that? What stimulates close cooperation with the partners in the practical field of production?

#### Criteria and Results of Responsible Action by Work Collectives

[Summary of article by Horst Scholz, secretary, Cottbus SED Bezirk Management; pp 740-745]

[Text] What determines and affects responsible thought and conduct? What demands are made on state managers, the party groups and all communists in developing further and promoting purposefully such thoughts and conduct in the work collectives in conformity with the altered conditions for the implementation of the main task? All this is presented by means of experiences in the leadership activity in Cottbus Bezirk.

#### Joint Reconstruction Promotes Performance Growth

[Summary of article by Dr Hansjoachim Hahn, member, Dresden SED Bezirk Management and general director, VEB Electromachine Construction Combine; pp 746-749]

[Text] Which demands arose from the USSR-GDR cooperation in their joint reconstruction of the VEB Electromachine Construction Sachsenwerk, Dresden, the sole manufacturer of large and medium-size electric machinery in the GDR? How can one achieve an important performance growth by modernizing the capital assets in place and by technological conversions? How does one give political leadership to a reconstruction project of such dimension? How does one involve the working people in all the phases of reconstruction?

## Inventing Can Be Taught and Learned

[Summary of article by Dr Gerlinde Mehlhorn, leader of the higher education work group for creativity research and talent development; and Dr Hans-Georg Mehlhorn, director, youth and education division, Central Institute for Youth Research, Council of Ministers Office for Youth Affairs; pp 750-755. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Research Potential Seen Inadequate to Meet Economic Needs," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the 10th SED Congress, also has given a boost to invention activities. With it, it becomes apparent that considerable reserves still exist which lie, in particular, in the motivation for invention and in improving the knowledge prerequisites for people engaged in R&D. That is the tasking and testing field for the inventors schools of the Chamber of Technology in which experienced inventors systematically familiarize future inventors with invention activity. They also constitute a form of continuing college education.

## We Protect What We Have Acquired

[Summary of article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, military scholar; member, SED Central Committee; SED Central Committee Department Chief; pp 756-762. A full translation of this article is published under the heading, "SED CC Member on Role of Workers' Militia in Internal Security," in this report]

[Text] Formed 30 years ago under our party's leadership, the workers' militia of the GDR are among our revolutionary accomplishments. They attest to the resolve by the workers class and the other working people reliably to protect our workers and farmers power, jointly with the other armed forces, and to safeguard peace. Through their stance and deeds, the militia became a synonym for loyalty and dedication to the SED, for high awareness, iron discipline and operational readiness.

## The Friend and Fellow-Combatant of Marx and Engels (On August Bebel's 70th Death Anniversary)

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ursula Herrmann, sector chief at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 763-768]

[Text] August Bebel, the friend and fellow-combatant of Marx and Engels, the impassioned fighter for socialism and against capitalism, militarism and war, against opportunism and revisionism, embodies an entire historic period of the workers movement: that of the formation, growth and maturation of socialist mass parties. Although at the end of his life, with the start of the new era,

he failed to comprehend the new quality of the class struggle, remaining bound up with the 19th century forms of struggle, he shared with the German leftists an unshakable revolutionary class position and the loyalty to Marxism.

#### Capital Contra Human Dignity

[Summary of article by Werner Flach, chief department head at the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR; pp 769-774]

[Text] Part of the long-range plan of imposing a global U.S. tutelage over the nations is the presumption of the Reagan administration it would give dignity, liberty and democracy to all people. But how are they doing in the United States itself and in other imperialist states? Looking at realities, the striking contradiction is demonstrated between the claim made and imperialist reality.

#### Chronic Massive Unemployment--Illness of Capitalism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter Delitz, department head at the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR; pp 775-779]

[Text] Some indications that the nadir of the longest cyclical capitalist world economic crisis in the postwar period has been reached or passed are contradicted by the fact that massive unemployment continues and is going to rise further in the years ahead. What are the causes for this prospective developmental trend? The specifically cyclical causes for the massive destruction of jobs today are under the impact of pervasive structural crises and fundamental changes in the capitalist accumulation and investment process. The workers movement is boosting its struggle for protecting and creating jobs.

5885

CSO: 2300/181

REFUGEE OFFICIAL CRITICIZES SED SPORTS POLICIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 83 p 21

[Article by Herbert Fischer datelined Berlin: "The GDR has a Tough Time with Sports for the Masses--a Physician-Trainer Discusses the Advantages and Disadvantages of State Planning"]

[Text] "I did survive by a sportsman-like attitude. I am quite glad." These were the brief personal remarks made by Dr. Friedhelm Beuker, the first made in public in the FRG since he left the GDR in September 1982.

At that time he was "moved out." He had spent 5 1/2 years in the Bautzen 2 penitentiary; that is where the GDR keeps its "most serious cases," those who played an outstanding public role in the workers and farmers state until they were declared non-persons for whatever reason.

Beuker, born in 1932, was a "big figure" in GDR sports, in all-around sports that is, which--so it seems from the FRG angle--are wholly overshadowed by the splendid medal harvest of the GDR's internationally so utterly successful competitive sports. The former medical student at East Berlin's Alexander Humboldt University rose fast: from a bezirk physician for athletics in Frankfurt/Oder to the head of the leisure and recreational sports department at DHSK (the German College for Physical Culture and Sports) in Leipzig. This, though he had relatives in the West and was not a member of the SED. His persistent refusal to become a "comrade," however, was the beginning of his undoing. His job at DHSK was taken from him.

"When I got here, Beuker, born in Berlin-Neukoelln, tells us, "I went to the Grunewald." Watching people there at their leisure, engaged in sports and games, all that variety had seemed "exotic" to him: "I got around a lot in the world, but something like that I had never seen." They were jogging, surfing, sailing, swimming and riding horseback, and "no one was standing there in the corner and saying 'but now you've got to get off the playing field.'"

That impression hit him deeply and still does. At least since then he has been talking of the "fairy tale of the superiority of GDR sports." Becker says GDR sports in their totality should not be gaged by the top competitive achievements. Spectacular feats in sports can be sought by all and can be found in the FRG. "All-round sports are more attractive, glorious and splendid here. They are broader and more naturally accepted by people. All-around sports are simply

part of life. You can see that in the streets even, which are becoming more and more sportive in looks. The gym shoe generation no longer is confined to those between 17 and 20. All that is different over there."

FRG media are supplying all-around sports to the GDR too, gratis but too little of it, in his opinion. Much of it could be used for it. The trim campaign of the German Sports' League, e. g., Beuker found so good "that I introduced elements of it over there too," particularly the campaign, "Join-in, stay fit!" The TV program by the same title (the eastern answer to the game without limits) was conceived, and moderated, by Beuker. The major efforts of his work lay in publicity anyhow. He estimates he has published circa 500 scientific and popular science articles. Over there, he simply was the "TV doctor." For years he wrote a regular column, "The Sports Physician Advises," in the GDR's official sports journal, SPORTECHO.

That was in the mid-1970's, at the height of his career. Then the cofounder of sports medicine in the GDR, among other things, was on the leisure and recreational sports commissions under the national executive committee of DTSC [German Gymnastics and Sports Federation] and FDGB [Free German Labor Union Federation], and advisor to the State Secretary for Physical Culture and Sports. He was a member of the presidium in the science council of the state secretariat for physical culture and sports, and he was on important boards of the athletic equipment industry.

As in all industrial societies, there also is a vast readiness for leisure-time sports in the GDR. But there are bottlenecks because competitive sports get absolute priority in the clubs where they are deeply rooted and kept completely detached from all-around sports. A prominent example is that there are no indoor pools for the general public; there is a reverse ratio between nonswimmers and GDR medals for swimming. Sports movements arising spontaneously and expanding have a tough time in the other German state. They tie up personnel and take a lot of time, since what one mainly needs are sport medals to stabilize the system. From the vantage point of athletic science, according to Beuker, Marathon racing and jogging get positive marks as endurance training methods. "Sports policy, however, had a different view of that since a large movement for running required organizational efforts whereby competitive sports might be deprived of time and cadre potentials, which became inconceivable, particularly in the 1970's."

Meanwhile, running has developed in the GDR through private initiatives, such as the well known "Brennstein" race in the Thuringian Forest, which was started by sports scientists at Jena University "but certainly not by the DTSC that had long been against rather than for the race." That explains another picture by Manfred Ewald: the mighty GDR sports boss putting the brake on one sport for all.

In the meantime things have gotten better: "Initial scruples by the leadership in the sports, especially the political leadership, are likely to be gone" (says Beuker). Yet, in all-around sports in the GDR still "nothing exists that is not being sanctioned by the SED." The planned economy sees to it that there can be sports. Everything serves the further development and construction of the socialist lifestyle and world of labor, always under the motto of the sports medal, "Ready for work and for the defense of the homeland." "Whether that always makes the marks down below as they would like it," is something Beuker would not bet on.

Sports that are undesirable cannot be permitted. Tennis, for instance, so very popular in the FRG because it is an "upper-class sport, is one of the class enemies of the workers class." They did not want to assist in isolating certain circles of the society, such as the so-called intelligentsia, which could possibly isolate them from the general trend of the centrally managed sports movement. Golf they do not offer either. Movements with a strongly fashionable accent like aerobics or squash hardly exist, if they exist at all. Beuker says: "In a state that on general principles plans everything, sports are of course planned too, so that no disproportions arise."

Planning is the catch phrase. What with all his respect for all-around sports, "made in Western Germany," Beuker, however, finds negatives things here as well: "That everything is done much more spontaneously here also has disadvantages because one discovers the sins one commits too late. The proper preplanning might avoid some errors." What the sports scientist means by this is the following: "that it has paid off in the GDR to have a large science staff there that handles the preprogramming, the target outlining and the creative work, before things actually get going."

Dr. Friedhelm Beuker, who now lives on the Mosel, has signaled his willingness to take a part in FRG sports, and the German Sports League (DSB), all-around sports department, has accepted the signals: "Technically, I do not have to change," says Friedrich Beuker with reference to his change in venue: "I believe I can find a spot here in the sports movement and sports science." With it, he has something special in mind: "I hope we will be able to be doing it in the future in the way that what is good on both sides may also be used and applied on both sides for the good of the population engaged in sports." Beuker's credo: "In the field of all-around sports it certainly is possible to do something for the Germans' sense of belonging together." In that he would like to assist.

5885

CSO: 2300/177



HOMOSEXUALS' TREATMENT PROTESTED TO HONECKER

West Berlin DIE TAGEZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 83 p 9

/Article: "Homosexuals in the GDR--An Open Letter to Erich Honecker" /

/Text / On Friday, 14 October 1983, a newly-formed mixed homosexual work group began its activities in the Dresden Protestant Student Community. Before the end of the year, a similar group will begin its work in Magdeburg. Homosexual group activities are in preparation in two communities in other Bezirk capitals of the GDR. A purely lesbian and purely male homosexual work group in the GDR so far exists only in one East Berlin community. Homosexuality is still taboo and discriminated against in the GDR. Editorial Group L 74 of the lesbian UNSERE KLEINE ZEITUNG of West Berlin considered this situation and the GDR effort for social recognition to be grounds for writing a letter to Honecker. We are printing it below because it provides insight into the situation and problems of homosexuals in the GDR.

Dear Mr Honecker:

A few weeks ago, one of our female readers received a letter from the GDR which, along with information from conversations with homosexuals in your country, prompts us to address this open letter to you.

As far as we know, the GDR tries to follow the best German traditions, including the strivings of the leftists in the Weimar Republic, particularly those of the KPD. There also were such strivings in regard to the question of homosexuality and society, and--as you too are sure to know--the KPD took the most unequivocal stand among all the parties. Quite apart from supporting all activities for completely canceling article 175, it promoted the emancipation of homosexuals and, consistent with that, was also actively represented in the WHK /Humanitarian Academic Committee /....

The SED preferably takes the KPD as its model.... The question arises why this principle has not been adhered to as regards the question of homosexuals....

It is amazing that the GDR did not abolish article 175 until 15 years after Stalin's death. However, as in the FRG, in the GDR homosexuals continue to be discriminate against in criminal law concerning sexual matters. In both states, homosexual love, in contrast with heterosexual love, as soon as one of the partners is over 18, is permitted only to people who are of age....

Reports from the GDR on this subject, just as the letter mentioned above, point in a direction of GDR policy with regard to the homosexual question which urgently calls for our protest.

The letter reports about a group of homosexual men and women who on a Saturday in June 1983 wanted to commemorate the homosexuals murdered by the National Socialists in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It was planned to lay a bouquet of flowers in the former concentration camp. It had been decided from the start to forego an inscribed ribbon lest the whole project be prevented. This fear turned out to be justified.

No sooner had the group arrived at the Oranienburg S-Bahn /intraurban electric railway/ station than it was stopped by police. There was every indication that they had been waiting for it....

When in answer to the question as to where it was going the group truthfully gave its destination, the police asked it to take the next train and go back where it came from--the Schoenhauser Allee station....

No reason was given for this order, but after a lengthy exchange the police stated that at present an event closed to the public was taking place at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp museum and that this was the reason why the group could not visit the camp that day. The group decided to wait for the end of that event and to lay the flowers after that. This decision resulted in a general check of identity documents by the police. Two persons were led off into a room and subjected to questioning....

After the telephone call /apparently mentioned in the passage just omitted/ the police suddenly changed their attitude and let the group pass. However, it was followed by two "inconspicuous gentlemen" from one crossroads to another.

There was no evidence of a private event having taken place on the camp premises. Except for an explanation of what the pink angle meant and a statement that homosexuals had to work in the clinker works outside the camp, the group found no sort of information about the fate of homosexual inmates in Sachsenhausen. There was nothing to indicate that the clinker works was considered the "Auschwitz of homosexuals," no information about the living conditions of these inmates, and none about their number or the number of those murdered, and no information as to whether the homosexual inmates were exclusively men. In the visitors' book available for all visitors of the museum, the group posed all the question it had concerning this subject and voiced its astonishment that the Sachsenhausen memorial contained hardly any references to the question of "homosexuality and fascism." After having laid the flowers, the group returned to Berlin.

So much for the contents of the letter. In the meantime some of those who participated in this memorial excursion went to Sachsenhausen a second time. When they went to see what kind of reply had been given to what had been written in the visitors' book, they found that the book was no longer there.

Even if we assume that we are dealing here with a one-time mistake, for example on the part of the police, the question arises as to how it was in fact possible for such a reaction to occur.

Unfortunately what has been described here is not a singular case, however. We have learned that the Leipzig ESG /German Protestant Student Community/ Homosexual Group had a similar plan. It wanted to lay a wreath in honor of the homosexual victims of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Having learned about the obstacles which had been put in the way of the Berlin group, the group advised the Buchenwald Committee of its intention in advance, requesting its approval. The approval was given in a friendly letter. The laying of the wreath then in fact took place without any incident--except that the guards made very sure that the homosexuals kept among themselves. During the laying of the wreath the door of the bell tower, which normally stays open, was closed, and no other visitors were admitted. When members of the group visited the place a second time not long thereafter, they found that the band of the wreath had been pushed back in such a way that it was impossible to read the inscription, which said that Leipzig ESG Homosexual Group was commemorating the murdered homosexuals of Buchenwald. The bands of all other wreaths were easily legible. When the young men straightened out the band, the guards tried to prevent their doing so with the obvious lie that the ESG group had expressly asked that the band be covered.

We find it appalling that the homosexual victims of fascism to this day are discriminated against in such a way in the GDR. How do you account for this behavior? What is your attitude toward the homosexual women and men living the DR today?

Except for a ghetto of a few cafes and bars in Berlin (in which homosexual men, however, cannot move around anywhere near as freely as, by comparison, a heterosexual couple visiting a bar or cafe) there is no room for homosexual men in the social society of the GDR--let alone lesbians, who do not appear to exist at all in the public consciousness. The women are relegated to the "quiet little chamber," while the men--disgracefully enough--still can frequent parks and the "traps" /"Klappen"/. Outside the capital there do not even exist any queer, let alone lesbian, hangouts as yet. There the situation for homosexuals resembles that in 1933 described in Heniz-Dieter Schilling's book "The Queer and Fascism" published by the West Berlin Elefanten Press in 1983 (page 19: "A homosexual thus was nailed down to an already existing relationship with one other person; if he did not have that kind of relationship, he was deprived of any possibility of contact or communication."

As we know, there have existed and exist now in the GDR lesbians and male homosexual who are trying to step out of their shadowy existence. In the past few years they have more than once turned to the authorities for support. Often they did so in vain, and frequently they did not get any answer whatever, until

in the end they were referred to the Ministry of Health (!). In the late 1970's, in fact, groups of male homosexuals and lesbians were organized in the East Berlin House of Health. Only, the members of those groups did not realize at that time that the conversations which were conducted there were intended to serve to support the research of Professor Doerner--like the result of medical research for which some of them volunteered in the hope, corroborated by the doctors of the House of Health, that the research later would serve large-scale enlightenment on a scientific basis along Hirschfeld lines. The research aim of Professor Doerner (to which unfortunately Professor Schnabl also hopefully refers to in his book "Mann und Frau intim" /"Man and Woman Seen Intimately"/), is, however, characterized as fascist-oriented by quite a number of international experts.

We utterly reject such research aimed at a "final (?) solution" of the question of homosexuality by preventing possible homosexual development with the help of interventions at a person's embryonic stage.

Parallel to the emergence of the homosexual work groups in the House of Health, the opportunity, existing until that time, of inserting homosexual contact ads in the magazine WOCHENPOST was canceled....

As is certainly also known in the GDR, the percentage of homosexuals of the whole population lies between 2.5 and 5 percent. This means that in the GDR too there live ten thousands of people who are prevented by a mantle of silence from integrating into society in accordance with their own identity and individuality. This taboo concerning homosexuals continues in the GDR to a large extent even after abolition of article 175 runs counter to what we believe to be the principles and moral claims of a democratic, humanistic--let alone a socialist--social system. How can one reconcile these claims with reports according to which undesirable juveniles increasingly are reviled as "queers", "fags" and the like, with their sexual orientation playing no role whatsoever?

Dear Mr Honecker, we cannot understand how a GDR with humanistic and communist traditions, which it does claim for itself, intends to do justice to its homosexual people in light of this attitude toward them. We would like to ask you to see to it that this attitude is reviewed and attention is paid to research results and the concern of the WHK.

Sincerely yours,

The Editors  
UNSERE KLEINE ZEITUNG

Berlin, 20 October 1983.

8790  
CSO: 2300/178

FDJ BUILDS TRAINING CENTER IN NICARAGUA

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 29 Sep 83 p 2

[Interview with FDJ Brigade member Klaus Schneegass by Hannes Wagner: "Foundation Stone in Jinotepe"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Recently some more members of an FDJ friendship brigade stationed in Nicaragua traveled to Managua. JUNGE WELT reporter Hannes Wagner interviewed brigade member Klaus Schneegass.

[Question] What is your mission?

[Answer] We are going to build a training center in Jinotepe. This town of 16,000 inhabitants is the seventh largest in the country. The center is a gift from the GDR Government. As early as next March we plan to start training programs in various technical trades.

[Question] And how is the work coming along?

[Answer] Two of our brigade members have been in Jinotepe since last spring. They did the essential preparatory work and on 17 August the cornerstones were laid for the center's two lecture halls.

[Question] Now you are calling a country your second home which has innumerable problems and difficulties. Have you come to terms with this?

[Answer] If everything were in good shape there, there would be no need for our assistance. On the other hand, when I realize that such a hard-hit country has managed, less than 5 years after its successful revolution, to provide for occupational training, I feel that this constitutes considerable progress. As recently as 1979 Nicaragua was still a country of illiterates. It is truly amazing that such an enormous societal problem was overcome within one single year.

[Question] You are looking forward to your work, then?

[Answer] I can't wait to make the acquaintance of Nicaragua's patriots and, together with their friends from the Sandinista Youth Organization, to help in rebuilding their country.

9273

CSO: 2300/141

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH MEXICO DISCUSSED

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 8 Nov 83 p 5

[Interview with Mexican Area Minister for Culture Juan Jose Bremer by Raymund Stolze: "Cultural Exchange in Climate of Trust"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The deputy secretary of education of the United Mexican States recently made a working visit to the GDR. JUNGE WELT reporter Raymund Stolze interviewed Juan Jose Bremer, who functions as area minister for culture.

[Question] What is the purpose of your visit?

[Answer] Both our countries are engaged in determining their cultural relations for the next 2 years. A bilateral commission will meet for this purpose shortly. I will be in a position to submit projects to that body by virtue of experiences gained during visits to important cultural centers of your country such as Dresden, Weimar, Jena, Eisenach, Erfurt, Schwerin and Guestrów. I would, for instance, be pleased to propose an exhibit in Mexico composed of paintings by Dutch masters in the Schwerin museum. In addition, I am considering the importation of educational TV broadcasts and an increased exchange of published books.

[Question] What is your opinion of the level of cultural relations between the two states, which have been implemented since 1975 as a result of governmental cultural programs?

[Answer] I would say that each side has always tried to offer its best products to the other. I should mention also that both of us are interested in the preservation of our national cultures and customs. In our country the preservation of our cultural identity is a political mandate.

[Question] That is a problem which was widely discussed during the Second UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policy in Mexico City in 1982, especially in view of the massive inroads made by U.S. cultural manifestations, which is especially noticeable in newly developing states. What is your feeling on this?

[Answer] In Mexico's struggle for its independence, the preservation of our own culture against such influences has been a guiding principle. It is even

today in the forefront of our mission. A people's cultural heritage is essential for strengthening its sovereignty.

[Question] The tense international situation caused by the NATO arms buildup and even direct military aggression such as the recent criminal invasion of Grenada by the United States increasingly motivates people in the arts and culture to work for peace. What is the situation in your country?

[Answer] Our Foreign Relations Ministry has strongly condemned the detestable events in Grenada. A strict policy of nonintervention is one of the strongest characteristics of our foreign policy. We have experienced foreign intervention in our own history. That is why Mexico, as a member of the Contadora Group, makes great efforts to achieve a stable peace in Central America. The Tlatelolco Agreement for a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, signed by 21 states in 1969, came about as the result of our initiative. Mexican artists have on many occasions expressed their protest against fascism and oppression in such places as Chile. And our new cultural agreements, if you will, will also be a specific contribution to the preservation of peace. A prerequisite for accomplishing this is an atmosphere of trust between states of different societal orders, such as is amply proven by the cooperative efforts between the GDR and Mexico, and not only in the area of cultural relations.

9273

CSO: 2300/141

## RECENT INCIDENTS REFLECT HARDENING OF CULTURAL POLICY

Zuerich NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG in German 2 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] Budapest, November--A deterioration in the climate of the intellectual life of Hungary can be noted. Great disappointment among the intellectuals followed the dismissal of Ferenc Kulin, the chief editor of MOZGO VILAG (world in motion), the most lively political-cultural journal here. The writer, Sandor Csoori, who had spoken out against discrimination against Hungarians abroad, drew not only a 1-year publication ban, but a vicious thrashing in the literary journal LEBEN UND LITERATUR (life and literature) as well. It was aimed at the preface that Csoori had written for a book published in Canada on the situation of the Hungarians in Slovakia. Finally, the clash between the samizdat publisher, Gabor Demsky, and the police gave rise to fears in opposition circles. Violence occurred in connection with an identity check during which, according to dissidents, the public-order officials exceeded their authority. Demsky was afterwards taken to the hospital with a brain concussion. The police nevertheless charged him with resisting state authority. There has not yet been an indictment; the case is pending. No one is willing to say whether the incident signals the beginning of a generally harder line against dissidents. In this respect, it should also be mentioned that some writers were refused travel visas to the West by reason of their allegedly having spoken disparagingly of Hungary during their last stay abroad.

## Vigorous Criticism of the Minority Policy of "Brother Nations"

There had been a tug-of-war going on for several years about the journal MOZGO VILAG." It was originally the mouthpiece of the Communist Youth League and, slipping away from its control more and more, last year was placed in the Ministry of Culture. Chief Editor Kulin, then drafted from his position at the university, was to bring the independent editorial staff closer again to the party line. To some extent, the publication was granted a free rein by the highest culture official in the country, Gyorgy Aczel. It did not take long at all before Kulin was reproached for himself having adopted the view of the editorial staff and having failed in his mission. After his dismissal by the deputy minister of culture, Toth, the Budapest students circulated a petition to be signed on behalf of Kulin. The student parliament of the School of Arts and Science, in a resolution of mid-October, characterized the complaints lodged against him as unjustified. In



their opinion, MOZGO VILAG accurately portrayed Hungary's social and cultural problems. What apparently disturbed the authorities most was the journal's commitment to the cause of Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring states.

Faced with a certain amount of unrest among the young--in the petition, 700 persons supported Kulin--Toth accepted an invitation in late October from the law students to speak at the university. It went very emotionally: the entire problematics of the Hungarian situation since 1956 flared up and shot flames. In the course of the question-and-answer game between the deputy minister and students, it became clear that Hungarian youth are far less willing to accept the cautious path of Kadar than was the generation of those who were adults in 1956. MOZGO VILAG was not least a forum where both the young and the adults met. If the publication were deprived of its critical content or even shut down, the Hungarian party and state leadership would isolate themselves from a large portion of the active young people. Some authors are already asking themselves whether they might want to work for samizdat publications in the future.

#### Fading Consensus on Kadar's Policy

Kadar's success thus far has been due to the fact that he--unlike most all the other leading East-Bloc politicians--understood how to create a broad consensus in the population. This still exists, but it is increasingly difficult to involve the young generation in it. As far as MOZGO VILAG, the editors were assured the paper would continue to exist as before until February 1984. But the publication of the December issue was not permitted, although the censor's corrections in a report concerning the former leftist-national historian, Istvan Bibó, had been made. With this, a chapter seems to be closed, for now the journal would have to be revived, which is very difficult in today's economy.

9992

CSO: 2300/147

PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN NOTED

Cegielski Works Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Janusz Lustyk]

[Text] The party organization at the Cegielski Works has worked hard to prepare a summary of output in 1981-1983. The successes and defeats, as well as common experiences, will permit us to make conclusions regarding a new program for the future.

Detailed assumptions and campaign goals were discussed at joint meetings of branch secretaries and other party groups. At the end of October, there was a special plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee regarding various issues and preparations for a plant conference by 17 December.

The party's output at the Cegielski Works will be known at the December conference. In addition to successes, there were also failures. The historic resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress have been realized in especially difficult economic and political conditions.

"Attempts to break the party at our works have not succeeded," stated First Secretary Andrzej Komosinski. "Our party is always at the first line of battle, where the enemy is no longer working in public but rather in hiding. Our common success has been that the employees at Cegielski have not been divided."

The election campaign included at first party groups and branch organizations. It is now at the stage of POP [primary party organizations] meetings. Last Thursday there was the first meeting of POP Seniors.

This is a special organization, young, starting in November 1981. It is composed of people who have entered the autumn of their lives--senior citizens and pensioners from the Cegielski Works. The POP was born in difficult months for the party and the nation. This is why these seniors supported POP's efforts to keep order and quiet among employees at Cegielski.

Thirty-four comrades in conjunction with First Secretary Kazimierz Markuszewski initiated the party work. The organization has grown systematically in 1982. New comrades have joined the organization, benefiting from a resolution passed by the Council of Ministers regarding early retirement. At the end of the year, the organization had 262 senior memberships. Many of these seniors worked at Cegielski from their youth and others from the first days of freedom. These are people who love the works as much as their grandfathers loved it. Today they are not working and many of them are in poor health, but their hearts are loving and they are working to improve socialism through their experiences. More so than the younger workers, these seniors worry that their lifelong efforts at their beloved Cegielski not be wasted by their successors. They are saddened when the law of nature breaks up old comrades. In the past few months they have bid goodbye to old party members Henryk Cwiertnia, Henryk Pajor, Stanislaw Pawlowski, Tadeusz Tomczak, Marian Wojtkowiak and Leon Zydorczyk.

The election meeting was a several-hour discussion about the party's problems and current social and economic problems. The resolution called for close contact and cooperation with other party organizations at the Cegielski Works in order to share as much as possible the life experiences of POP Seniors.

Henryk Adamczak was elected first secretary of this rare organization.

#### Party Ideological Work

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Wlodzimierz Ratke]

[Text] One of the most important tasks established by the PZPR secretariat in Pila before the ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] in Czarnkow was assistance and support of party organizations in their ideological work.

From an evaluation of school-lecturer activities in 1982-1983 in the area of activity of our ROPP, it appears that these recommendations were concretely realized. Ideological activity has been raised to a higher level, most party organizations systematically held ideological seminars and also most lecturers passed out party documents and advanced Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

Last year, there were 182 POP [Primary Party Organizations] and OOP [Department Party Organizations] in party training. It is necessary to recognize, however, that the organizations conducting the training were not entirely informed of all the political information because a given POP did not always pass current sociopolitical information to the organizations or ROPP.

A new form of ideological education in the region was the training of young members of the party. This training was conducted in full by ROPP. Taking this training were 70 members and party candidates from all areas.

Another form of ideological activity organized by ROPP was meetings held every 2 months with teachers and ideological and economic activists. Participating at these meetings were not only party members but also nonparty people. There was a wide range of subjects discussed, beginning with typically economic problems of the current sociopolitical situation.

These were only some of the selected forms of training activity conducted in 1982-1983 in the Czarnkow region.

At the October inauguration of the regional party school, in which over 150 lecturers and ideological activists from ROPP participated, tasks for the 1983-84 school year were presented and approved by the ROPP council. These tasks will be implemented by well-prepared ideological activists, i.e., 158 lecturers, of which 108 have higher educations and 107 finished WUML [evening universities of Marxism-Leninism].

Besides mass training in POP, other forms of ideological work will be continued. ROPP will organize regional training for 70 young party members. A permanent party lecture will be conducted with three socioprofessional groups, a group of 80 teachers, a 75-person ideological activ and a group of 72 brigade workers from the region. ROPP will call six permanent lecture points in the large plants, i.e., ZPPIW [expansion unknown], FSO [automobile factory], MEBLOMOR enterprise in Czarnkow, SPOMASZ [Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory] and WROMET enterprise in Wronki. The main task of the lecture will be to disseminate information on the current sociopolitical and economic situation and to carry out party orders and many other issues concerning the socioprofessional environment.

Another form of ideological education will be the WUML. ROPP will introduce a second year of studies on the principles of Marxism-Leninism for 23 persons--administrative personnel and lecturers from workplaces in the city and county of Czarnkow and the county of Lubasz. On the other hand, the WUML will be conducted in Wronki for 32 persons--youth and worker activists.

A new form, for the first time implemented by ROPP, will be short-term courses and sociopolitical studies. It is foreseen that these courses will be for PZPR members in unions, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], national councils and lecturers in party training with special emphasis on the principles of ideological education and factors guaranteeing its effectiveness. The goal of these courses is to deepen sociopolitical knowledge, meritorial preparation and teaching methods, and party knowledge.

These are only the main points adopted for the 1983-1984 school year in the Czarnkow region.

#### Party Campaign Effects

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by L]

[Text] "The resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee stand as an inspiration for further actions by party organizations, especially during the electoral campaign, and also for other actions, being a continuance of basic political points of the Ninth Congress and 13th Plenum," state the first secretary for party organization, Janusz Musial at Polmozbyt [Technical-Commercial-Automotive Center]. "The resolutions of the 13th plenum showed us, activists in the economic sphere and training in the workplace. During the course of the campaign, we will disseminate knowledge of these resolutions among members of the party so as to join ideas with party work practice.

"The electoral campaign undoubtedly will flow over into further integration of PZPR units, and also into raising party authority in the workplace through inspiration of control activities in the economic sphere and in self-governing and social organizations.

"The past term of office was difficult, but it was also raw proof of our skills and our foundations as party members. We finish it by offering four new candidates among the young workers. We expect that during the campaign, we shall find new possibilities for dynamic action not only among the party activists but also among all personnel in our plant."

#### Party Outlook in Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by ZG]

[Text] An electoral campaign is taking place in primary party organizations [POP]. A meeting of party groups has ended in Zielona Gora. In most cases, comrades are fulfilling functions, but in a wide range of organizations there is a complete changeover of authority.

These meetings are an opportunity to evaluate political work conducted in the past term in office. Evaluated is the implementation of resolutions passed by the Ninth Congress. Widely discussed are ideological and intraparty problems, and an analysis by the Central Committee of the causes of social conflicts in the Polish People's Republic. At all meetings, there has been discussion as to how to inform society about the return of rationing for fats. A resolution was passed regarding protests against the atomic blackmail of the Western states.

Personal and community problems entered the discussion. The resolutions speak about the need for increasing activism among party members in the workplace and dwelling place, adherence to rules and participation in the work of social organizations. Conversations were not avoided about difficult economic and production problems and much attention was devoted to correcting communal work, trade and education.

At the DZO [Lower Silesia Casting Plant], there was a critical evaluation of actions taken up to now by management in correcting work organization. In the opinion of party members, too many people are employed in the nonproductive sector, and machinery is in need of repair. It is felt that the pay system existing up to now has not passed examination, and one is not paid for quality and productivity but rather for coming to work.

Problems of production and searches for ways to resolve them dominated discussions at the candle factory in Szprotaw. The members of the branch organization No 2 in Gubin Carin also are of the view that the process of organizing work and salary scales are not completely resolved, and that the current premium system is not satisfactory for the workers.

In the view of party members in plants and institutions, there is a lack of consequence in justifiable and accepted programs. This concerns especially changes in work organization, limitations on internal bureaucracy and reduction of employment in administrative functions and production services.

At the furniture factory in Jasienie, the comrades spoke about dividing among all members the individual tasks, constant computation of their completion and also the need for consultation by the administration concerning changes in personnel. Avoidance of political and social organizations regarding personnel decisions causes too many and unnecessary irritations among the personnel.

Rationalization of work and production was a principal topic at the discussion taking place at the pig farm at Lutol near Lubsko. Two workers vying for election appeared at the meeting.

#### Party Observations--Concrete and Critical

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Nov 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by SC]

[Text] Taking place in all of the party organs in Gorzow Province are electoral meetings. These discussions on the most important problems for the party and a given community form the foundation for further implementation of resolutions passed by the Ninth Congress.

Such meetings already have taken place in four POP [Primary Party Organizations] in agricultural plants affiliated with the Lubus Agricultural Collective in Rzepin. Discussions centered for the most part around ways to increase efficiency in plant and animal production and quality of national machinery and agricultural machinery. As in many other PPGR [State Farm Enterprises], conditions here cause unhappiness, and the shortage of apartments is causing the outmigration of workers from agriculture. Party organizations and farm administrations intend to deal more closely than previously with this matter.

There was a lot discussed concerning local economic problems and shortages in the town and country at meetings of POP at UMiG in Recz and OOP [Departmental Party Organizations] in the agricultural plant at Nietkowo. It was also stated that these problems would not be solved without greater activity and offensive by the party, and also by engaging all party members on PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activities and union organizations.

Similar conclusions were expressed at the POP educational meeting in the county of Miedzichowo. One must not look any further than him/herself for reasons for lack of political activity. Helpful were honest countings of one's own activities and conclusions. It was decided to divide individual party tasks so that these activities would not just remain on paper. These concern looking for new members, support of activities associated with national rebirth and work at ZHP [Polish Scout Union] school organizations.

Representatives of the administration, self-governing work units and trade unions also were invited to participate at the OOP meeting at the agricultural plant in Zarzyn. The meeting had a "fighting" tone to it and a great deal of truth was told. Members of the party did not spare any words in their criticism of the administration for not having much to do with the party organization, but the plant's administration also let forth with strong words concerning the relationship of some workers and OOP members to caring for machinery and daily obligations. Such sincere and open discussion has helped to contribute to mutual understanding of the reasons for weaknesses and should guarantee the effects of further work among party members.

There are also many critical words at seven POP meetings at plants in the county of Bogdace. The reasons for lack of successes in party work could be attributed to the lack of activity by party members, to nonadherence to rules, to indifference to activist organizations and also to the low effectiveness of POP on economic activity. For example, GS [Rural Commune Cooperatives] in this area faces losses as high as 2.7 million zlotys. It was recommended that party members filling administrative functions look carefully at the reasons for this situation and work out a program to get out of these difficulties.

At the meeting in SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives], there was a lot discussed about the farmers' bad opinion of the quality of services and about the conflict between personnel and the administration of the collective. There has been an attempt to form a union at SKR, but to date it has not been accomplished. The workers wanted the party members to support the union initiative so that its creation could take place quickly.

The course of these meetings proves that the members of many POP understand that party presence in the life of their community does not depend on "cheerleading." A critical evaluation of previous work permits one to simplify all impending tasks.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

## Assessment of Party Work

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Kosinski]

[Text] In the course of yesterday's field trip meeting in Niemodlin the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee acquainted itself with the activity of the city-gmina party organization there. Before the meeting, according to an already established custom, members of the Executive Board visited party organizations, participated in meetings with the POP [basic party organization] executive boards, getting acquainted with party work and gathering information about problems currently bothering party members, workers of the local plants and institutions. This form of meetings and discussions with party members let the Executive Board members enrich their knowledge about this community, which they had acquired from the official document--"Evaluation of the Activity of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Niemodlin"--prepared by a team of political workers from the PZPR Provincial Committee. The authors of the evaluation had used the assistance of party aktiv from among members of the city-gmina auditing and party control commissions, members of the echelon and workers of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee. The above-mentioned aktiv was especially helpful in carrying out control activities in basic party organizations.

The activity of party members is influenced by the political atmosphere in the city and commune, which is shaped by the general situation in the country. After a politically and ideologically shaky period, during which the activity of the party echelon and organization decreased and assumed action character, considerable increase of activity of organizations and party members occurred. A considerable number of POP's hold meetings systematically now, there is an increase of awareness, expressed by better party discipline. Despite losses, the city-gmina party organization maintained its number of members, especially its workers' core. "This was possible," Stanislaw Chalimoniuk, first secretary of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee, said, "thanks to an offensive attitude of the aktiv." If we consider the example of Niemodlin, progressive integration of the society and stabilization of sociopolitical life demonstrates speedy



overcoming of the internal crisis in the party. Also, social involvement in the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of the city is evidence of the growth of activity of both the party organization and wide circles of the society. The party aktiv concentrated around the City-Gmina Committee comes from among the most experienced long-time party members. Most have completed WUM-L [Evening Marxism-Leninism University]. Conditions have been created at the City-Gmina Committee to extend the sociopolitical knowledge of the aktiv at courses, lecturers and educational meetings organized by the communal echelon or the regional center for party work. These forms of political improvement are implemented systematically and have good attendance and involvement of the participants. The party aktiv is properly utilized in the activity of the City-Gmina Committee. It played a significant role during the period of martial law, by getting involved in the political and explanatory work in the basic party elements. The City-Gmina Committee fulfills well its instructing and inspirational role toward the basic party organizations through its aktiv. A group of 21 social instructors who, among other things, have assumed the duties of curators of all the village organizations, is active in the City-Gmina Committee.

Summing up the discussion, Eugeniusz Morz, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, rated highly the activity of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Niemodlin on the basis of the opinions expressed during the discussion by members of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, and he emphasized very good preparation of the party aktiv--social instructors, secretaries of POP, genuinely involved people, fighting for the correct party line. This allowed the city-gmina organization to achieve positive results in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, plenary meetings of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committee, as well as its own resolutions. A number of initiatives have been worked out with the aim of further improvement of the forms and methods of party work. The system of information has been improved and contacts of echelon members with the basic party elements have been extended. The authority of the party in the community has increased. The City-Gmina Committee deserves these words of appreciation.

Besides these positive elements, the following facts have been pointed out as negative: most of the POP's have not worked out so far any conception of developing the party ranks; even though this problem has been undertaken by the City-Gmina Committee, POP's have systematically neglected this sector of their statutory activity (the problems of growth of party ranks have not been undertaken by party members active in youth organizations either); creating proper political atmosphere and conditions for further development of the trade union movement; the degree of intensification of party work in the teachers' community; work of party organizations with their members active in the youth movement.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee drew attention to the still unsatisfactory state of order and esthetics in some villages.

To end this point on the agenda, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee adopted a resolution, in which it recommends the tasks resulting from its content to be included in the program of activity of the city-gmina party organization for the next term.

In the next point on the agenda preparations for the subsequent plenary meeting of the provincial party echelon, which will be devoted to the perspectives of further development of the food industry in Opole Province, and which is to take place in the third week of November, were discussed.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee acquainted itself with the social feelings connected with renewed introduction of rationing of butter and fats and it evaluated critically the method of introducing it.

#### Work in Railroad Repair Yards

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Buczek]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign has already been completed in the ZNTK [Railroad Repair Yards] in Bydgoszcz. First, meetings in 22 OOP's [Departmental Party Organization] were held. In seven of the OOP's the function of the first secretary was entrusted to new comrades, in the remaining ones the positions were retained by the previous first secretaries. Attitudes and division organizations' own activities were the main object of discussion. Among other things, a better supply of knowledge on ideological and political questions and quicker flow of information were asked for. A number of decisions take the rank and file party members by surprise, comrades learn about many problems from other sources, which are rarely objective. And this influences the attitudes and activity.

In the OOP 84 delegates were elected for the plant conference. A total of 21 workers were elected. This is little, although "production" is represented by an additional 14 foremen. This is little, if we consider the decisively workers' character of this plant organization and the postulates from 2.5 years ago.

#### The Workers' Party To Be Governed Mainly by Workers

It was here that 2.5 years ago 13 workers were elected to the 15-member Executive Board of the Plant Committee. The mid-term reports conference concluded that it had succeeded, that they had been governing the plant organization well...

The reports-elections conference of PZPR in which, among others, Zenon Zmudzinski, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee and Bogdan Michalek, secretary of the City Committee participated, began by expressions of

appreciation to the comrades who liberally gave their time to political work on the level of city and plant during the previous term of office. The PZPR City Committee awarded honorable mention to: Alojzy Bauza, Andrzej Grochowski, Stanislaw Fraszczyk, Janusz Urbanski and Jan Leszczynski; the MKKP [City Party Control Commission] awarded honorable mention to Henryk Kaminski and Jerzy Wesolowski. The Executive Board of the Plant Committee awarded honorable mention to Comrades Andrzej Blyszcz, Zbigniew Fialkowski, Jerzy Wozniak, Kazimierz Paliwoda, Idzi Radke, Wladyslaw Wasilewski, Antoi Bigaj, Jurgen Domanski, Witold Machkowski, Jerzy Wesolowski and Boleslaw Kulpa.

The conference was very efficiently run, for the delegates had met before, received the reports materials of the former authorities and discussed matters connected with the electing procedure. There was more time for discussion.

From the reports materials of the Plant Committee: "The plant party organization numbers 916 comrades at present, including 4 candidates. During the term of office 209 people were crossed out and 7 were fired from the party. Departmental party organizations determine the power of our organization, they are the first to undertake all the problems of comrades and non-members. Before 13 December we were not indifferent toward phenomena which were incompatible with the party line in our plant, we expressed our opinion publicly. We were directed by the obligation to consolidate all the workers, we defended our arguments in a parter-like dialogue with all the representatives of the workers."

The Plant Party Control Commission and the PZPR Plant Auditing Commission concluded that the Plant Committee had implemented all the resolutions and motions from the beginning of its term of office, though sometimes with delays. Despite the considerable efforts of the Plant Committee, including the first secretary of the Plant Committee, Comrade Tadeusz Mackiewicz, it was not possible to consolidate the whole of the plant party organization in the implementation of party policy and the organization's own resolutions during the term of office. This evaluation includes critical remarks on some OOP's and some comrades.

#### Repercussions of Past Arguments and Divisions

The violent change of the leadership of the plant organization, which took place 2.5 years ago, strongly influenced the discussion and was expressed in votes cast for or against the candidates for the new authorities. Comrade Mirosław Dereziński said that the Plant Committee did not live up to its tasks, that for him the time of struggle before and during the period of martial law was not a time of positive action, little was realized from the program adopted at the previous conference. He also believed that the Plant Committee was not able to consolidate the plant organization after the imposition of martial law and blaming the "extremists" for it only deepened these divisions. He emphasized that there was lack of interest in a number of employees' problems.

The fullest answer to these and other criticisms was given by Comrade Janusz Urbanski. The answer was accepted by a decisive majority of the delegates, which was reflected in the effects of the conference and in the elections of the new authorities of the plant organization. J. Urbanski emphasized that "it is a fact that not all the points of the resolution of the previous conference were implemented, but it would have been a mistake, too, if the Plant Committee had obstinately stuck to it. For not all the decisions of the previous conference were correct, some of them had been verified by the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. The Plant Committee undertook the task of consolidating the split organization and it succeeded in doing it--today veterans and very young comrades can cooperate in it in concert. The Plant Committee, consisting mainly of workers, was able to live up to the requirements of the ideological and political struggle in the most difficult times before and during the period of martial law, despite numerous opponents. It succeeded because it acted with the people in mind. The interests of the workers and plant dictated, among other things, the need to make a number of changes in the managerial positions at ZNTK. This could not have been to the liking of those who had to leave these positions and it is they who are causing problems and continue to do so.

"Production effects, the implementation of tasks resulting from the economic reform, are best evidence," said Janusz Urbanski, "of the political work and atmosphere in the plant. No one can question the fact that these tasks have been successfully realized at ZNTK (in spite of a great shortage of labor during the first 10 months of this year the ZNTK have successfully repaired 600 cars and 20 motor engines more than during the same period last year; the average monthly salary is 14,000 zlotys, but its growth is the result of increases in labor efficiency--author's remark). The Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth has gained a good position in the plant, and the trade unions, which are quite powerful already, were created following its initiative. Also, good cooperation of the Plant Committee with all the plant social organizations determines the atmosphere in the plant."

Naturally, no one from among the former authorities or the delegates maintained that it is possible to give the high quality mark to all the activities of the Plant Committee and the whole organization in the past term of office.

#### There Were Also Blunders, Not Everything Turned Out Right

An example of this is the problem of political training, which was mentioned, among others, by Andrzej Sztok. He emphasized that party members must be superior to others in their knowledge and orientation in politics, economic reality and ideology, if the party is to be able to fulfill its leading role. This knowledge determines the attitudes. Although educational meetings have been taking place systematically at the ZNTK and there has been progress in ideological work, there have been many defects, too. Still too often are these meetings celebrated, too often there is a

boring lecture instead of a genuine conversation of the lecturer and the participants. People who are well prepared, have great knowledge and are involved must be found for this work.

It is not possible to reflect in this article all the threads of the discussion at this conference. Maybe it is only worth noting that there were numerous and powerful voices about the need to make all the citizens aware of the threats to world security caused by the policy of the United States, about the need to express our commitment to world peace in a more determined way. Also the need to educate for peace in the spirit of respect for the achievements of generations was mentioned, as well as the need to remind young people the patriotic traditions, among other things, the patriotic attitudes of Bydgoszcz citizens during the last war.

#### Exposition of the Problem of Clearing a Difficult Term of Office, Full of Curves

I believe that such an exposition was appropriate, especially in this organization, which began to come out of a huge curve 2.5 years ago at the reports-elections conference due to a radical change of leadership in an organization in which mainly workers took the rudder in their own hands in the period of breakthrough. They lived up to their duties. This is how it was evaluated during the OOP meetings and during the plant conference, though there were other voices, too.

During a break in the conference Comrade Alojzy Bauza, who was included in the PZPR City Committee as representative of the plant organization, told me: "Few know how much moral strength and resignation this term of office cost us, how many times it was necessary to keep one's temper in order to behave with dignity. I remember that once, when people spat on the PZPR, I got up and told a full auditorium that I was from the PZPR and that insulting the party was not right--people started whistling. Although there were more of us from the PZPR in the audience, no more people protested against it. Later, during martial law, some came and wanted to show who were the people whistling. One had to hide one's bitter feelings, there could be no revenge. It was also difficult, because one also had to persuade those who had been hiding in corners a couple of weeks before, were not capable of publicly admitting that they had a party ID. I had intended to have a little rest in this term of office, but the comrades are not letting me. T. Mackiewicz and others have persuaded me that I should undertake new tasks. I agreed, among other things, because this workers' Executive Board and the workers' Plant Committee, both of which were new, have managed the difficult term of office well. I have agreed, although I know that this term will not be easier."

A term of struggle ended for the PZPR plant organization at the ZNTK, but not only a term of struggle--also a term of positive, sometimes positivist, activity. The achievements of the past term are considerable not only in the plant, for the voices of comrades from the ZNTK were loud in the City Committee and in the PZPR Provincial Committee. They took part in the discussions and undertook tasks resulting from them.

It is the reporter's duty to note that comrade Tadeusz Mackiewicz was again elected first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in ZNTK. The following comrades were elected delegates to the provincial conference of the PZPR: Tadeusz Mackiewicz, Kazimierz Krolak, Tadeusz Jasinski, Jan Baras and Stefan Matuszewski.

#### Assessment, Recommendations in Campaigns

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] A number of delegates have already been elected for the city conference in Chojnice. A plant conference of PZPR was held last Saturday at "Mostostal." The discussion was matter-of-fact (15 comrades took part in it) and concerned both ideological and political as well as social and production problems in the plant, which had had some difficulties with utilizing its production capacities. Orders from the USSR, about which we wrote extensively in GAZETA POMORSKA recently, helped. Franciszek Hajnas was re-elected first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee. Among other people, Comrade Zbigniew Smigielski, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee, was elected delegate to the city conference here.

Also a community conference of teachers was held in Chojnice on Saturday. It was stated there that the PZPR Community Committee of Teachers and Workers of Education established in November last year was a full success. It contributed to the integration of the community (according to the speakers in the discussion this process should be further deepened).

Thanks to the initiative of the KSN [Community Committee of Teachers], ideological training of teachers was extended, a number of problems genuinely bothering the community, in which 50 percent (190 people) are members and candidates of PZPR, were undertaken. During the term of office of KSN 3 candidates were accepted as members of the party. The trade union organization has strengthened considerably: ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] has 378 members--this means that a very high percentage of teachers and educationists see the Polish Teachers' Union as the spokesman for the protection of their rights and interests.

Jozef Iwicki became again the first secretary of the PZPR Teachers' Community Committee.

Twenty-nine village POP's, 19 plant and 1 local party organization have entered the reports-elections campaign in the Lubraniec gmina. They have a total of 860 members and candidates. One POP was dissolved during the past term of office. Several scores of people left the party ranks--many resigned, but there were also cases of firing people. Besides small village organizations (12 POP's number up to 10 members), there are also such organizations as the one at SHRO Kazanie--92 members and candidates, the Commune Cooperative--87, SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative]--86. The attendance at meetings is high irrespective of the community in which a given organization is based.

While summing up the past term of office, attention is drawn to the need to construct a realistic program of activities, which must be undertaken in the nearest future. Better cooperation of party elements, local state administration, social and youth organizations than in the past is indispensable. According to party members from Lubraniec, the realization of common goals by the forces of the whole society will definitely bring better effects.

"Many statements made during the reports-elections meetings," says Jozef Krawczyk, 1st secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Lubraniec, "concern strengthening party discipline. This refers mainly to participation in POP discussions, fulfilling undertaken obligations and observing the statutory principles. State authorities are criticized for soft treatment of phenomena, which are disadvantageous from the point of view of social order. According to many comrades, the decisions in these matters should be more determined.

"Lubraniec is one of the leading agricultural areas in Wloclawek Province. But it needs a lot and this is reflected in the statements of many farmers-party members. Mainly there is a shortage of machines, especially of tractors. Here is a considerable shortage of construction materials: roof covering and suporex. Also positive phenomena, which have recently taken place in the countryside, are emphasized."

The list of motions formulated by POP's in the Zlotniki Kujawskie gmina, mainly for the commune authorities, is extensive. There are over 50 of them: most concern the sphere of supplies and services (16), amelioration and construction of water distributing plants (7), road repair (7). The evaluation of the 2.5-year period of POP activity also served the purpose of defining tasks improving party work. The 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was universally referred to in this connection. Ways of improving the effectiveness of party training were discussed and the need to establish higher criteria for party membership as well as responsibility for the implementation of the entrusted tasks were mentioned and the need for better cooperation with youth organizations and trade unions was emphasized.

During the meetings in POM [State Machine Stations] Zlotniczki, in the Consolidated Gmina School and in the Gniewkowice village candidates were admitted to the party. In the primary school in Tuczno and in the village POP in Zlotniki Kujawskie and Niszczewice party members initiated social actions to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the PRL [Polish Peoples' Republic].

The activities of the party organization at the MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise] in Torun aimed most frequently at solving difficult social problems.

Due to party initiatives a recreational building was erected for the employees in Kamionki near Torun, vacations were organized for adults and summer camps for children. Improvements of the difficult working

conditions of MPK workers were taken care of. The situation in this field will certainly be improved by the construction of a new tramway depot, but this will take place in the distant future, since the construction work will begin only in 1986.

Comrades Edward Rekas and Tadeusz Bonowicz were handed letters expressing thanks of the PZPR City Committee for especially distinguished party work. The meeting elected the new executive board and Comrade Stanislaw Krzykowski, a driver, became the first secretary of the POP.

Unfortunately, there was no discussion at this meeting. In spite of the complete respect for considerable activity during the past term of office, questions arise--did nobody actually have anything to say, or was it mainly the executive board of the POP that had been working?

During the reports-elections meeting of OOP [Departmental Party Organization] No. 10 at the Nitrogen Plant in Wloclawek the discussion concerned strengthening the authority of the party and increasing its influence in the plant. The OOP comprises comrades from the department of the chief of automation. Motions were formulated on increasing party discipline and on the need for better and matter-of-fact ideological training.

The problem of discipline did not come to the fore by accident. The OOP Executive Board has carried out interviews with party members who did not demonstrate a responsible attitude before hand. There was a lack of consistency, however, and it was only during the meeting that comrades came to the conclusion that it is necessary to part with several members of the OOP.

Comrade Slawomir Kuzmicki was entrusted with the function of first secretary of the OOP.

#### Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Pantak]

[Text] "The Auditing Committee was absolutely right in criticising my OOP [Departmental Party Organization], i.e., me," Andrzej Nagorski, worker from the Agricultural Plant in Kolno, began the discussion. "After all, a party member must be an example for others, act morally, i.e., honestly, notice and suppress irregularities not only in others, but also in himself. To justify myself, however, I would like to say that such an attitude does not pay. For we worked for a dozen or so hours daily and the wages were not adequately high, on the average they are lower than wages in the industry, though during the season I got also more than 20,000 zlotys monthly."



Nagorski's statement began one of the stronger threads in the discussion at the reports-elections meeting of the Plant Committee in PGR [State Farm] Satopy. It so happens that this topic is sensitive, because the enterprise could not boast of profits for years and could not afford to increase wages. "And maintenance of a family will be more and more difficult, while our highest pay is only 28.50 zlotys per hour plus small bonuses. True, the director 'whitewashed' the present situation, saying that we are already coming out of it, but what of it, we do not feel it, the wages are low," added another speaker. And a third one said: "How is it possible that wages in the OZOS [Olsztyn Automobile Tires Factory] have recently increased by half? Can they afford to pay the PFAZ [State Vocational Activization Fund], unless they manipulate and cheat in costs?" So Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Olsztyn, present at the meeting, had to explain that the OZOS workers earn so much because otherwise there would be no tires, which are so necessary for the farmers. "And what would you do with the tractors, if they were standing 'barefoot'? This is exactly how we are implementing priority for agriculture in the industry, we have exempted OZOS from part of the payments for PFAZ because we want to have tires. If someone has a different solution, we will be glad to use it."

Apparently the audience understood this necessity, since more was said about the local problems. The PGR Satopy is undergoing a real revolution in its activity. In the 1970's it was among the enterprises in which most funds were invested, unfortunately, only in animal production, in cattle farms with grate positions, in piggeries with multi-deck coops. Almost no apartments were built, the farm's own fodder production was not developed. Consequently, there were losses of tens of millions of zlotys, deterioration of the conditions of work and life.

Director Jerzy Kania: "During the first 7 years of the past decade 26 million zlotys were devoted to apartments and 13 times as much to farm buildings, in the following years the disproportions grew to 53 times to the disadvantage of apartment construction. At the time the reform was introduced (July 1981) we had investment debts of 19 million zlotys and as much as 347 million zlotys of turnover debt; this is why we need as much as 3 years to overcome the crisis and the deficit. Luckily, the results of the first quarter of the current economic year demonstrate that we are already in the black. The crops were good, we have completely changed the profile of plant production (grain, legumes and industrial plants), commercial plants for sale already constitute three quarters of our crops, we use more and more dung and liquid manure, though we have more of the latter. The performance of milk cows has improved, in some empty cattle positions we have been installing appliances for cleaning seeds, we will be self-sufficient in seeds and we finally have proper workshops in five plants. This is the picture of our efforts, improving what had not been done properly in the previous years. But... we need 150 apartments before 1988 so that there is someone to carry this ambitious plan through."

The chief mechanic added later that there were improvements in exploitation, though there were still problems with the lack of respect for spare parts, ignorance caused whole assemblies to be taken out and thrown away as scrap iron. This economic exchange of views supplemented the speech of the Executive Board of the Plant Committee in a way, since it said little about economic matters and more on internal party problems, training, the level of activity of the OOP, on problems with the attitudes of some comrades. During the term of office the membership of the organization decreased from over 150 to 135 comrades, but 5 candidates came; the organizations are young and they are dominated by workers. Maybe this is why the conclusions referred to the questions of interpersonal relations, justice in evaluating work and dividing commodities, evaluation of professional usefulness of workers, especially the cadres and the need to increase the activity of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] organization in every plant--because the self-government and the trade unions were evaluated positively. How could it be otherwise if it is thanks to party members that they have been created and are working for the benefit of everybody?

The question of whether the party in an agricultural plant should deal only with production problems is a frequent cause of doubts. Such a dilemma does not exist in Satopy. It seems that the workers have consolidated around the prepared programs of improvement, for no one spoke of any serious shortcomings. Those who service the countryside and agriculture, on the other hand, got their beating. Actually, there were three problems causing emotions in the discussion: the extension of the school, in which the PGR would help anyway, the activity of the GS [Gmina Cooperative] and ZOZ [Health Care Team]. The school is simply too small and there was nobody to extend it; only when the head of the gmina created a communal enterprise in Bisztynek did construction work begin. It has been going quite slowly, but the small group of construction workers has numerous problems. There is hope, however, that it will not last long. As for the situation in the health service, one of the comrades characterized it like this: "One goes to Bisztynek with one disease and comes back with three. Lines, nerves, loss of time and fuel of the plant automobiles. On top of that, the reformers have included the Bisztynek gmina in the ZOZ in Lidzbark Warminski and it is more difficult to get there than to Biskupiec. A three-room apartment is awaiting the physicians in Bisztynek, a similar one in Satopy, but the 'honorable' doctors, usually young, have salary claims. There is even no dentist, so how are the sick to get better and work well? Nobody from the Bisztynek authorities could answer these doubts in any positive way for, one has to admit, that it is beyond their powers, since they have prepared the apartments. So the dissatisfaction of the participants shifted to the Bisztynek GS and the vice president of this firm, present at the meeting, got a good thrashing, mainly for the incompetence in dividing the scanty commodities among shops, but also for shortages of fresh bread, for neglect in running the local bar "Klos." There is one conclusion from the example given, namely that the Bisztynek GS is run by persons who have not yet adjusted to the difficult market time. Thus they continue to expect automatic deliveries and limits, and they defend themselves by quoting the high costs of importing goods from other provinces.

The resolution of the meeting includes mainly motions concerning local improvements. It must be admitted that the plant PZPR organization in Satopy was highly evaluated by the City-Gmina Committee in Bisztynek for its normal everyday activity and participation in the life of the community. Thus the promise that the enterprise will disappear from the list of deficit plants fills one with hope. A new Plant Committee was elected under the leadership of the former secretary, Andrzej Porczynski. The participants also adopted the appeal for peace initiated by the OOP in Wojkow. One of the most active comrades and a good worker, Henryk Kalisz, received the award "For Merit to Warmia and Mazury."

12417

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Ideology of Reports-Elections

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 16 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (reb): "PZPR Reports-Election Campaigns, Ideology In Its Pragmatic Dimension"]

[Text] A reporting and program-addressing campaign continues in PZPR's basic components. POP [basic party organization] work over a 2.5-year term is being evaluated thoroughly and, in many cases, given negative scores. Detailed analyses are being made of the manner in which tasks dictated by the Ninth Congress resolutions, activity programs of local units, and individual organizations have been accomplished. Against this background, directions are being established for work in the next term. New executive bodies are elected at meetings.

This in-party debate allows ample time for local problems: economic, benefits-related, interpersonal relations, discipline and organization of work. After all, ideology and politics, and programs and resolutions adopted at the supreme forum take on their concrete, pragmatic dimension at the level of a particular plant, institution, village, or community.

Among the 5,323 OOP's [Departmental Party Organization] and POP's comprising the 4 provincial PZPR organizations in our region, reports-elections meetings have been held to date in 3,305, or 62 percent. The most advanced campaign is going on in Tarnobrzeg Province. Nearly 50 percent of OOP and POP units in Rzeszow Province have held their meetings.

Those factories in which the basic level campaign has been completed have either held their plant conferences or general reports-elections meetings (in factories where the membership is under 150). The Korczyn Alimentary Plants in Korcyn named Roman Rak to the position of first secretary; in the Kasztelanka Pastry Plant in Biecz Helena Kuchta was elected; in the San Factory in Jaroslaw--Jozef Sabota; in the Footwear Plant at Kolbuszow--Jozefa Kitrys; in the Meat Plant at Nisko--Tadeusz Samojedny; and in the Nimet Metal Works--Adolf Pasiak. The Tarnobrzeg WASR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] elected Franciszek Wraga its factory committee first secretary.

Some gimna conferences were held in Tarnobrzeg Province, naming the following gmina first secretaries: in Majdan, Adam Malec; in Padwia, Stanislaw Sowa; in Grebowo, Krystyna Sliwa; in Jarocin, Felika Kotwica; in Zaleszany, Ryszard Zaleszcauk.

As reports-elections meeting at Tursk Wielki, Osiek gmina, Tarnobrzeg Province, entrusted the position of first secretary again to Mieczyslaw Wyrzykowski, an experienced party activist. His comments made to our reporter follow.

Our organization has nine members, nearly all of whom participated in the meetings. The report made references to our modest, though locally in the village important, achievement. On party initiative, a road repair project was undertaken and now is proceeding very efficiently. Sand and crushed stone are hauled using the local farmers cooperative's vehicles. Farmers willingly work at tamping and levelling road surfaces. It was stated during the discussion that such initiatives were needed in greater numbers, since party inspiration in many domains of socioeconomic life was guaranteed for each organization's restoration of prestige in its communities, which is exactly an expression of the party's leading role.

These comments were taken into account in an operational program adopted at the meeting. We also focused on the growth of POP membership, pointed out by farmers Jan Adamski and Edward Skalski.

Currently, many members of rural party organizations are elderly persons. We must rejuvenate rural party ranks. Such projects are not made realistic by the assignment of individual tasks; rather, something beyond that is needed: making our activities more attractive to young rural residents. This will be no simple matter, because our work has been largely routine in form and substance up to now. I believe that we must enrich and diversify it.

The following comments by Halina Kopacz, POP first secretary, at the Adult Social Aid Home, 15 Jasinskigo St, Przemysl.

Our 16-person organization had its meeting exactly a week ago, a good meeting, as we see it. The discussion was lively and frank. It can be safely said that the course of the meeting demonstrated ongoing POP consolidation, though the individual commitment of its members has not always been in keeping with their potential. We want all POP members to join in party work to the extent they can afford. We will keep this in mind when specifying their individual tasks.

We stated clearly at the meeting that party members are expected not only to provide leadership in their communities (practically all POP members are outstanding in social work and professional achievement) but also to influence their communities by participating in debate on sensitive issues, presenting the party's position and defending that position. This is precisely what our POP members were lacking, especially in the period from 1981 to 1982, a period difficult for party work.

It is our belief that party work cannot be confined to meetings. Of top importance is daily political work, POP's share in solving the problems of work forces. A party organization cannot shy away from difficult problems--just the opposite, it should meet them head-on and stimulate action to help find solutions. Certain shortcomings and problems were raised in a discussion at a reports-elections meeting, as reflected in a list of motions, now an integral component of our operational program for 1983-85.

The meeting enjoined party members within the plant's management and the POP executive body to engage in further action aimed at recovery of premises occupied for 7 years by the rheumatology section, Joint Provincial Hospital. The meeting refused to accept explanations provided by the hospital director's first deputy, who stated in a letter of 10 October 1983 that it was virtually impossible in the next 3 years to transfer the section to another building. We are one of the two homes for chronically ill patients in Przemysl Province. For a year now we have been unable to accept another patient because of crowding and extra beds crammed in. Our needs are enormous.

During the discussion references were also made to wage issues, which are a necessary precondition for curbing employee turnover. In this connection, we prepared our own assessment of planned changes in the emoluments system, and we passed it on to the ministry office.

These and other matters will be addressed by our POP together with the trade union, youth organization, and the management, which is vigorously supporting party initiatives. We opposed and we continue to oppose the principle of "each on his own." Collaboration must proceed daily. This is a precondition for success.

#### Activity of Party Members in Campaign

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "PZPR Reports-Elections Campaign. Assiduity of Party Members Guarantees Successful Accomplishment of Tasks. Conferences in Mikolajki and Starogard "]

[Text] Elblag Province's first gmina reports-elections conference was held yesterday in Mikolajki Pomorskie, with PZPR Elblag First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki and Elblag Governor Col Ryszard Urlinski participating.

In a report on old business and programs, delivered by PZPR Gmina Committee First Secretary Roman Fiercek, attention was focused on educational problems, operation of youth organizations, and developments in the food sector as affected by the implementation of PZPR Ninth Congress resolutions. Most of the gmina's 14 POP's are correctly fulfilling their statutory tasks and tasks generated by resolutions of higher echelons.

In gmina chief Jan Jesionowski's report on the implementation of socio-economic tasks, emphasis was placed on the gmina's successful completion of plans for procurement of live animals, grain, and milk. Individual housing construction also proceeds on schedule, although the gmina is suffering a shortage of certain construction materials.

Along with many achievements, the gmina is also coping with numerous problems in need of rapid solutions, of which the assuring of further development in services, construction of a pharmacy, joint gmina school and a gmina cultural center are of top importance. In an adopted program of operations for 1984-1985, assumptions were made as to the further upbuilding of party ranks and enhancement of ideological indoctrination. Special attention will be paid to the maintenance of high levels of production of salable surplus produce in individual farms and to the development of social benefits to rural populations through increased activity of rural self-government.

A PZPR reports-elections conference held a session yesterday also at the SZF [Pharmaceutical Factory] Polfa in Starogard Gdanski. PZPR Gdansk First Secretary Leon Brancewicz took part in the session. PZPR City Committee First Secretary Zdzislaw Dobrowolski was in attendance.

KZ [Plant Committee] First Secretary Stefan Demski reported on old business and programs. In his report, attention was focused on initiatives intended to restore party prestige, enhancement of its stimulative and monitoring activities, positive effects of impacting on and collaborating with sociopolitical organizations within the plant. At the same time, shortcomings were pointed out in ideological and propaganda activities.

First Secretary Brancewicz commented on the problems raised during the discussion, focusing in particular on issues involving organizational reinforcement of every party unit and on the importance of improvement in political knowledge in every party organization's political life. Subsequently, L. Brancewicz outlined the current socioeconomic situation of the country and of Gdansk Province.

The conference adopted an operational program for its next term and elected a new 19-person Plant Committee, 5-person Review Board, and Andrzej Wyborski as first secretary of the Plant Committee.

#### Suwalki Plenum on Ideological Tasks

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19-20 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by (m): PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Suwalki. Ideological Tasks on a Par With Other Tasks"]

[Text] A PZPR Provincial Committee plenary session was held in Suwalki last Friday, 18 November. Its topic was: "Class-ideological Consciousness, Theoretical Knowledge, and Daily Activity Are Our Endorsement of the

Ninth Congress Policy Line." The session, opened by PZPR KW First Secretary W. Berdya, was attended by PZPR Central Committee Information Department deputy chief Jerzy Lazarz and Governor Kazimierz Jablonski.

KW Secretary Josef Swierzbinski delivered the Executive Board's report. The chosen topic, he noted at the outset, was difficult. We realized that. We were aware, moreover, that we are addressing an issue neglected until now, regarded as a holiday trimming, and taken up for the most part at party indoctrination annual commencement ceremonies. Let us make this issue clear, Comrade Swierzbinski said. The revolutionary theory, always of foremost significance to international workers movement, had become the sole burden of what is known as the ideological front, i.e., scholars, party lecturers, journalists, or career employees responsible for this field. Most activists preferred to deal with organizational and economic issues rather than indoctrination.

Ideological oversights of the 1970's have been very serious. At a time when political struggle became heated, many among us stood helpless amid strident demagoguery and totally primitive argumentation. We believed that the relatively filled [book] cases of the 1970's would suffice to defeat our opponents. They were not enough, which is a finding adopted by the Ninth Congress and, most recently, the 12th and 13th CC Plenums. Whoever does not know the premises of our ideology is a poor party member and party worker. Yet knowing them is not enough, either. It is necessary to proceed in keeping with the party's statutory principles. It is an unacceptable situation when slogans are painted on banners while daily actions are just the opposite of the slogans. We still stand to overcome soulless bureaucratism, waste of society's assets, poor work organization, complacency, and corruption.

Subsequently, the KW secretary described the public mood and social awareness in worker, rural, and intelligentsia communities. It is an issue of importance to what levels this awareness reaches in young persons. This problem goes well beyond the present, as it contains questions about continuity in the development and quality of the socialist state. There are many young comrades in the province's party organization. There are few young persons, however, in self-government bodies, trade unions, PRON and social organizations. This trend may have serious consequences in the future because a fairly large segment of society will continue its existence on the sidelines, as it were. The young generation frequently finds itself in the situation of a man facing a crossroads--there is no point in trying to hide this assessment or to gloss it over. We should, therefore, view the young generation through a filter of the Polish nation's historical experience.

For some time now, the speaker later said we have been taking up ideological issues in the party. The socioeconomic crisis has revealed the weaknesses of our past efforts. If we affirm that workers are a special class in our province, our tasks take on added urgency to supply them with necessary theoretical knowledge. This task cannot be left to the ideological front



alone. A schedule for inculcation of the substance of the PZPR CC 13th Plenum should provide parts in this endeavor for the party, the authorities and administration, social organizations, the family, and workplace.

In conclusion, Comrade J. Swierzbinski pointed out that the Ninth Congress resolutions were primary beacons for further party work in this area.

Jan Nowakowski, the first speaker in the discussion, referred to the main topic inquiring who could be a party member and what qualifications a member must meet. Above all, such a person should be guided by Leninist principles in observing party discipline, discharging duties imposed on him, and transforming words and obligations into tangible actions. We have done much, the speaker said, to bring people up in a socialist spirit for the sake of socialism in postwar People's Poland. Those accumulated achievements, however, were significantly reduced by subsequent deviations. This is proof that not all possibilities were exploited, and a proper coherent upbringing program was not worked out.

In a reference to the 13th PZPR CC Plenum, Krzysztof Rakowski then expressed his alarm that the plenum was being regarded, on occasion, with holiday reverence. Rather than that, its resolutions and decisions should be made the substance of daily practice in party and social work. This is an indispensable precondition for our effective work in ideological dimension.

Comrade J. Lazarz emphasized in his statement that the tasks in the ideological dimension should reach every party member, all POP's, and as extensive a segment of society as possible. Furthermore, ideological substance should provide inspiration for many-sided PZPR work. He also reflected on current and immediately forthcoming party tasks.

The plenum adopted a resolution approving of the substance of the report and a schedule for implementation of 13th Plenum resolutions in Suwalki Province.

In the organizational portion of the meeting, the plenum seconded a motion by the Provincial Committee Executive Board to confirm Comrade Stanislaw Grzelak, formerly political associate of the committee and doctoral student at WSNS [Higher School for Social Sciences], as chief of the Provincial Center for Ideological Training.

#### TPPR Plenum

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZERZA in Polish 19-20 Nov 83 p 2

[Article: "The 11th National Congress 19-20 December; Main Board Plenum, of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship"]

[Text] The society's 18 December plenary meeting was devoted to a summary and evaluation of the reports-elections campaign and to preparations for a national congress.

The course and results of the recently completed campaign were presented by the society's secretary general, Stefan Nawrot. It was, he said, a good opportunity to survey assets and evaluate forces and possibilities in confrontation with the needs and tasks of the society. Local conferences have confirmed a desirable natural selection to have taken place in local units of the society: people who did not identify themselves with the society's assumptions and goals have departed, and new activists have been elected to governing bodies of the society's circles and local management. This offers preconditions for continued reinvigoration of the organization's activities. The reports-elections campaign was regarded by the meeting participants to have generally strengthened the society.

Ideological and programmatic assumptions and specific tasks for the next term will be developed for the society and approved by its national congress. Members of the society's main board acquainted themselves with the status of preparatory work for the congress, drafts of some documents, and proposals for statute alterations. A decision was adopted to hold the society's 11th National Congress on 19 and 20 December at the Palace of Culture Congress Hall in Warsaw.

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## JARUZELSKI NOMINATES GENERALS, PRESENTS AWARDS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] It has already become a tradition that every year, on the anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Army, a ceremony takes place at which the commanders of forces guarding the nation's independence and public order are presented with nominations to the rank of general.

On 10 October, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Army, in the Belvedere palace a ceremony took place at which representatives of the Polish Army [WP] and the Citizens' Militia [MO] were presented with nominations to the rank of general. At the same time, 59 outstanding officers, warrant officers and staff NCO's and civilian employees of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic received national awards.

At the ceremony were the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of national defense, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the chairman of the State Council, Prof Henryk Jablonski.

Also present at the ceremony were: the chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski; chairman of the Central Committee of the SD, Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk; members of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PZPR; members of the State Council, and representatives of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

The marshal of Poland, Michal Zymierski, as well as members of the administration of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] and the Union of Fighters of Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD], also participated in the ceremony.

Addressing those present, Henryk Jablonski said:

"According to a tradition of many years, we have gathered in the Belvedere Palace on the eve of Polish Armed Forces Day to show our respect for the values which were in the past and are still bring brought today into the life of our nation by the people's armed forces through promotions to the rank of general and by presenting national awards. These values are of importance always and under any circumstances but today, with the dangerously complex international

situation and still not fully completed normalization process in the life of our country, they are of particular significance. Every Pole who thinks about the fate of his country realistically and with a feeling of responsibility knows this.

"The role played by men in uniform in safeguarding Poland from the catastrophe which threatened Poland in the end of 1981 and lifting Poland from the crisis has its roots in events which took place 40 years ago, in the process of the formation of the Polish People's Army on the banks of the Oka river, which our soldiers, in their longing expressed through songs, compared to the queen of our rivers, the Vistula.

"Nobody in People's Poland differentiates between the value of blood shed and the combat effort expended by the Polish soldier on the battlefields of World War II or in Poland. This is because combat on all battlefields took place in the name of the anti-Hitler coalition--it was therefore the carrying out of the same civic duty, no matter where fate threw Poles. But not every military act has the same political dimensions, nor are its historical consequences alike. This is what makes the fact of forming the Polish Army on the territory of the Soviet Union unique, allowing for analogy only with the leftist partisan activities in the country. The Polish army kept its allied commitments and commendably passed its first combat test in the battle of Lenino. Then there was a long, difficult, bloody but victorious road to Berlin.

"These armed forces, thoroughly of the people in character," continued H. Jablonski, "were the natural heirs of the entire patriotic heritage of Polish democracy which, in specific historical moments, had to result in joining a political movement which was led by the most rational force with foresight for the future, the force of the Polish Left in the country--the Polish Workers' Party. Under its leadership the armed forces participated in the creation of the vision of the future, they participated in the creation of People's Poland while simultaneously forging a new, socialist concept of the soldier's role in the society. The concept of the soldier-citizen of a people's state. The concept of the army not only as a defender of borders but at the same time a force equally participating in the creation of a socialist society in all aspects of life.

"This concept emerged already during the war, and continued to develop during the first days of the period of reconstruction. News of those days attest to this; as an example one could cite the order of the Main Headquarters of the Polish Army, dated 17 July 1946, which read: '...we did not ask whether military manuals and theories devised in academies allowed for the soldier to plough, to harvest and sow for a farmer, to fight for order and safety and to take upon himself the responsibility of safeguarding the life and property of citizens, to exchange the rifle for a book and a newspaper and go among the people spreading the words of enlightenment and truth, but we were and will go everywhere when it is necessary to defend Poland not only with a rifle but with a hammer, a plough, a word and personal example.'

"Throughout the 40 years of its existence until this very day, the Polish Army remained faithful to this multifaceted concept of the defense of the

fatherland. It is therefore correct that today, when we honor the best soldiers for their efforts in peacetime, we reach into the past of fighting for freedom and see in them the successors of the combat efforts of the Kosciuszko units.

"Just like them, the Polish People's Army honorably fulfills its allied commitments, rightly seeing this as the best warranty of its effectiveness in the defense role. The armament of the Polish People's Army, the training of its soldier, qualifications of the leadership cadre constitute a contribution to the overall strength of the socialist bloc worthy of highest recognition, which has produced peace for so many years. However, we would not be telling the full truth if we limited ourselves to just this statement.

"In the picture of the accomplishments of the People's Poland," stated the chairman of the State Council, "there is no area where the armed forces did not have their great contribution. From economy through arts and sciences, the Polish soldier is still creatively present in the entire process of transformation of our society. The Polish soldier furthermore has proved his worth on the moral level, exhibiting the sense of full readiness to serve the nation and its socialist country. He thus had the right and duty to take upon his shoulders the responsibility for the fate of his homeland at a time when that homeland was greatly threatened. He carried out his duty honorably. It is thanks to him that hope returned to Poland, hope for rebirth and growth.

"In all its activities which serve universally to strengthen country's defense, the Polish Army has an important, indispensable ally whose mission is to keep order and internal peace. Officials of the militia and internal security forces are soldiers who share the army's objectives."

To the rank of General of Arms of the WP were promoted Gen Div Jozef Baryla and Gen Div Czeslaw Kiszczak. To the rank of Division General were promoted Brigadier Generals Zbigniew Blechman, Mieczyslaw Dachowski, Michal Janiszewski, Tytus Krawczyk, Edward Poradko, Wieslaw Wojciechowski. To the rank of Brigadier General were promoted Colonels Henryk Andracki, Kazimierz Bogdanowicz, Boleslaw Bonczar, Zenon Bryk, Tadeusz Jemiolo, Stanislaw Kolcz, Roman Ropek, Zdzislaw Stelmsszuk, Henryk Szafranski, Henryk Szumski, Stanislaw Switalski, Wladyslaw Tkaczewski, Mieczyslaw Wlodarski. To the rank of Rear Admiral was promoted Commodore Romuald Waga.

To the rank of Division General of the Citizens' Militia were promoted Brigadier Generals Wladyslaw Ciaston and Wladyslaw Pozoga. To the rank of Brigadier General of the MO were promoted Colonels Zdzislaw Biernackzyk, Henryk Dankowski, Bronislaw Moczowski and Zenon Platek.

In turn, 59 outstanding officers, warrant officers and staff NCO's and civilian employees of the military were presented national awards as per resolution of the State Council.

Sincere congratulations to the newly nominated and promoted generals of the WP and MO as well as to the decorated soldiers of the WP were extended by General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prof Henryk Jablonski.

On behalf of those honored, thanks were expressed by Brigadier General Henryk Szumski.

DZIEKAN SPEAKS ON CADRE POLICY AT 13TH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Oct 83 p 5

[Text of Tadeusz Dziekan speech, reported by PAP: "Guidelines for Cadre Policy"]

[Text] Comrade First Secretary, Comrades,

The execution of the program outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress depends in the first place upon people's actions. It is also well known that mistakes are made by people. That is why, in order to overcome the distortions and errors of the 1970's, our party, in accordance with its program line adopted during the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, consistently restores in its work with the cadre the Leninist principles of cadre policy, and carries them into effect in its everyday work.

The practice of the 1970's proved that the rules of the cadre policy established at that time were not consistently followed, were interpreted arbitrarily or even deformed. A fully justified criticism of distortions in this field concerned not the theoretical grounds of the cadre policy but rather the lack of persistence and cohesion in their application, and, first of all, their distortion by lobbies.

The resolution of the Ninth Congress obligated us to formulate new guidelines for the cadre policy. In accomplishing this task we are submitting today to the Central Committee a draft of the document called "Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy." We consider the main assumptions of this policy to be its class character, ensuring indispensable conditions for the cadre's growth, making collective decisions based on possibly objective appraisals of people, carried out openly, in accordance with the legislation in force.

"Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy," as well as the other executory documents, were a matter of intensive, almost 2-year long work and extensive consultation. The team appointed by the personnel department of the Central Committee was efficiently taking advantage of observations and suggestions submitted in the course of discussion on successive draft versions. Thanks to that, the documents presented today can be recognized as mature and of great importance for the accomplishment of our party's leading role in society and improvement of its building function in the socialist country. They concern

thousands of executives and, indirectly, all those whose activity, work, effects and conditions depend upon the functioning of the executive cadre.

Let us repeat: successes as well as also errors are fruits of people's actions. No wonder then that the public often seeks causes of bad aspects of various spheres of our life in personnel decisions, according to the principle that the cadre decides on everything. This opinion is quite justified.

"Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy" set up the basis for a uniform and effective system of cadre operations. This system consists of: criteria for the selection of executives, yearly overviews of the cadre, periodic comprehensive appraisals, selection and development of a cadre reserve, taking advantage of skills and enhancing qualifications. We include also in the nascent system documents for party use only, dealing with the ideological and moral code, rights and duties, periodic appraisals and improvement of full-time PZPR employees. A part of "Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy" is "Party Hierarchy Procedures for Executive Appointments," along with a general list of executive positions requiring coordination, consultation and political approval of the party hierarchy.

The party, considering the human as a supreme value, will, with all consistency, create for everybody equal conditions for all-round development and promotion. In accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, as a result of an open cadre policy, members of our own and allied parties, and nonparty members, are being appointed to executive positions. The effectiveness and correctness [of this policy] is measured by the rational use of people's entire creativity: their ideological and moral value, their knowledge, experience, abilities, their inventiveness and initiative.

In the cadre policy as a whole, democratic forms of decisionmaking must be adopted, i.e., collectivism, without removing personal responsibility for the decision's results, as well as consultation on personal actions. Taking into consideration social reactions to decisionmaking is the most effective way of eliminating any disinformation and incorrectness in this matter.

Our party's cadre policy will be practically referred to only if its realization is reflected in political, correct, individual decisions concerning the filling of certain positions. "Party Hierarchy Procedures for Executive Appointments," delivered today once again to the comrades, should serve that purpose. It states that "principal positions in state, representative and self-management organs are subject to coordination and consultation within commissions for cooperation between the PZPR and other parties, within representative organs, self-management institutions and social organizations." This course of action ensures for the PZPR its attribute to a leader. The need for institutional powers was addressed by Comrade Stanislaw Antoszewski.

In "Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy," as well as in our everyday cadre practice, we exalt the meaning and importance of basic party cells. In accordance with Point 33 of the PZPR Statute, each party member applying for an executive position has to obtain his appraisal and recommendation from his

parent party organization. Without this recommendation no personnel decision can be made by the party hierarchy.

According to the submitted guidelines, party organizations are obliged to show initiative and to evaluate the cadre policy in the enterprise or institution in which they operate; they should request that measures be taken in order to eliminate deficiencies and deformations appearing in this matter. An important task of party cells is to react quickly to actions of individual managers not complying with the ideological, professional or moral criteria in force. Placing trust in executives, party organizations and hierarchy should require of them independence and effectiveness, as well as competent shaping and strengthening of socialist relations between people within worker collectives.

I would like to say with all openness that we still meet with examples of managers not working well on various levels of management--both party and nonparty members. We have, especially in enterprises and offices, examples showing uneconomical behavior, dishonesty and incompetence, showing that the law is broken or evaded. For these and other reasons, mainly in order to persist in winning public support and strengthening our ties with working people, we have to eliminate efficiently cases of wrong cadre selection.

It should also be emphasized that cadre mobility does not solve anything by itself. What is decisive is the quality of the executive cadre and mainly an obvious and socially accepted efficiency in performing one's functions.

Based on a synthesis of results of previous cadre surveys, it is estimated that most executives recommended by our party fulfill their professional duties well, are able to associate correctly the interests of their companies with public interests, understand the essentials of the economic reform, and are able to carry it into effect correctly and enjoy confidence of their workers.

We have undertaken and are fulfilling system tasks resulting from the law on government employees adopted by the Sejm. At the time of nominations and appointments for government positions, taken into consideration are not only formal requirements but also the ability to operate efficiently, as reflected in the effective use of resources put at the disposal of an employee, and in his shaping of socialist relations in offices and in the way they work. The executive cadre, obliged to carry out the policy of our party and state, should seek an optimum initiative in looking for solutions appropriate for often difficult and complex situations.

At the same time, we should ensure that executives fulfilling their duties well have a sense of security and are convinced that their work will be fairly evaluated and appreciated.

Comrades,

An extremely important issue is to promote young cadres. We still have a lot to do in this area.



We believe that all executive positions in the state should be more open than now to young people ideologically involved on the side of the socialism, well prepared professionally and politically.

In Poland, there are more than 7 million young people in schools and universities, and more than 7 million work in the nationalized economy. More than 300,000 Poles at the age of 29 or under have a degree and more than 2 million have graduated from high school. This is a huge potential and an unquestionable achievement of People's Poland. Unfortunately, we have been insufficiently taking advantage of this opportunity until now, as either some young people's jobs are inconsistent with their qualifications or they do not have the opportunity to use their knowledge fully. This situation requires special attention and thorough control. Young people should be more often entrusted especially with executive positions in the production process, where they will be able to prove their competence practically, their vital energy as well as ideological and moral qualifications. This is also an important opportunity to transmit without conflicts the positive experiences of various generations, and, at the same time, to fight routine and bureaucracy, obstacles on the way to stimulating inventiveness and courageous activity.

I will be self-critical: in our cadre policy we have not fulfilled so far the tasks of the Ninth Plenum resolution referring to the promotion of the young generation. Difficulties still arise because the young cadre is not known well enough and the interest in youth problems is only casual.

That is why the "Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy" give special prominence to the mission of systematically preparing the youth for executive positions. This group of Poles must start being more boldly included in the cadre reserve, and concern about the constant improvement of their abilities must be revived. It is a common task for personnel offices of the party hierarchy, state and economic administrations and party cells.

Let us also remember that daughters and sons of workers and farmers, working intelligentsia, are natural allies of socialism, supporters of the party and state, our allies.

The youth organizations have brought up many valuable people who can be right now entrusted with other, higher positions. Those who not long ago were activists in youth organizations and today are valuable party activists work self-sacrificingly and with good results in various capacities, at all levels of the party hierarchy.

The class principle of the cadre policy demands also that we ensure for executive positions a constant influx of talented workers, good organizers, genuine leaders, who enjoy the authority and confidence of the place where they work and operate. Workers and their children should feel responsible for the destiny of the state and socialism. This way of promoting people is at the same time a way of promoting the [entire] class.

A systematic expansion of the field from which the cadre is selected requires that a cadre reserve be constantly created and its development efficiently directed. Comrade Stefan Paterek of Walbrzych Province spoke about this.

The most responsible mission is to work on the selection and growth of candidates. It is necessary to pay special attention to selection of particularly talented people and to forecast the way they will be taken advantage of later on. Cadre surveys and, above all, a thorough understanding of a person at his everyday work should be the main course of opinions serving that purpose.

Comrades,

"Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy" emphasized the importance of a correct selection of full-time party employees. The party needs a good political apparatus constantly, and especially during this difficult period. The party apparatus, working under the direction of the elected hierarchy, has a very important part to play; therefore, it should consist of the best party activists, devoted to the party cause. This is a condition for the improvement of the way the party operates. The party hierarchy would be unable to accomplish its tasks practically without the apparatus.

The following must be the main criteria for the election to the party apparatus, as stated in the PZPR Statute and submitted drafts of cadre documents: strong, disinterested espousal of the ideology, class adherence to principles, deep political, general and professional knowledge, initiative and self-sacrifice at work, ability to convince people and to win them over to the party's program, modesty and honesty, and, above all, acting every day in accordance with one's declarations, as well as being able to stimulate and organize the social, political and productive activity of people.

We will endeavor to make the realization of the principles of the cadre policy within the party an example for the entire personnel policy in the state. They should strengthen the party's vanguard role and its class character, influence the development of activists and ensure the election of the best of them to the party's leadership. The reporting and election campaign that is just starting in the PZPR will be a practical test for the execution of these guidelines.

Dear Comrades,

Our party had already in the past more or less perfect decisions and guidelines for the cadre policy; it lacked, however, a coherent, comprehensive system, and especially adherence to principles, persistence and consistency in practical application.

Deviation from the Leninist principles of the cadre policy in the past was caused also by lack of control over these areas, both in the party and political body. That is why, in order to ensure executory discipline and permanent control of the party and state cadre policies, in the submitted document a system has been proposed for conducting party evaluations of correctness in carrying out the policy related to the cadre at all levels of management and administration. Carrying into effect consistently the guidelines for the PZPR cadre policy is an especially important and responsible mission of the party hierarchy and organizations, as well as of the government organs.

It is necessary, at the same time, to keep in mind that society watches all personnel decisions closely and compares them with its own opinions. It is important, then, for the party's credibility that the comparison between personnel decisions and their social perception comes off well for those who make decisions. Taking into consideration public reactions to one's decisions is the ultimate way of eliminating any deformations and irregularities of the kind that happened in the past.

"Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy" concern vital matters of society in our country. It is the first document in the history of our party that approaches in such a comprehensive way matters connected with both creating conditions for the all-around development and promotion of the individual, and rationally using ideological and moral values, knowledge and skills of all working men. Achievements and experience of the cadre policy in the Polish People's Army were taken advantage of in it.

In conclusion, basing myself on the consultations conducted before, I would like to ask the Central Committee to approve "Guidelines for the PZPR Cadre Policy," so that their contents become a resolution setting forth tasks for work with the cadre in the party and state.

Thank you for your attention.

12471

CSO: 2600/236

RESPONSE TO KUBIAK REPORT DEMANDED

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Maciej M. Letowski: "Report"]

[Text] The special edition of NOWE DROGI which contained the so-called Kubiak report, i.e., a report drafted by a commission appointed to investigate the reasons for crises in post-war Poland, has been a publishing sensation. We have had quite a few crises so there is something to wonder about.

It is no surprise that I went to lengths to buy this interesting publication. But it was unavoidable at newspaper stands. I asked my friends but none of them managed to get the NOWE DROGI special edition. Even party members among my acquaintances do not have it.

The situation would be bad if the demand for the Kubiak report were to remain unmet. By this I do not mean only satisfying public interest in the report, though this is by no means of trivial importance. Something more is at stake. It seems to me that the need for public reflection about the sources of the past crises in order to prevent their recurrence in the future has not disappeared.

This coincides with declarations by Poland's political leadership. But such a declared desire may prove insufficient when it is not accompanied by a change in the mentality of the entire ruling apparatus from the top to the gmina level. It is also necessary that society constantly and critically cooperates in preventing the crises which cost so much in the past.

I wrote that a widespread discussion about the past crises is now necessary for at least two reasons. First, emotions and tensions connected with the 1980 crisis have diminished, which means there are proper conditions for a calm discussion guaranteeing realistic analyses and conclusions. We must not repeat the mistake, committed several times before, of permitting such discussions only at a time when state structures are collapsing. But as soon as the situation in Poland became more stable, the need for discussion was not longer recognized.

The reason was said to be that the scab of stability was too fresh to pick. Situations like this continued until symptoms of a new crisis appeared because the causes were not eliminated in due time. It was then announced that it was

too late for discussion. I believe that the political maturity and experiences gained from past periods should lead this time to the conclusion that the more stable the political situation becomes, the better the conditions are to permit the necessary honest public discussion about the shortcomings of Poland's political system and ways to reform it.

The other reason why such a discussion is needed is that various steps have been taken which are supposed to remove social tensions which regularly developed in Poland. The Sejm has already adopted the law on people's councils and local self-government. Preparations are going to begin for a law on public consultations, referendum and electoral reform. In addition, new structures are being formed to serve conciliation and reformation in the nation's life. All these laws will not produce effects unless they stem from honest knowledge of the reasons for previous conflicts. New laws are not passed in the name of abstract models; they are supposed to guarantee that old mistakes are not repeated.

Apart from demanding the general availability of the Kubiak report and a wide discussion about it, I wish to make one more request. I think it is worthwhile to draft another report about the reasons for successful periods in Poland's post-war history. That such periods took place is a fact, although under the pressure of current difficulties, we tend to forget about them.

Such a report should answer many questions. What enabled Poland's quick reconstruction after war destruction? What made society give such an enormous vote of confidence to Sladyslaw Gomulka during the October 1956 crisis? What produced the spontaneous answer, "We will help" [ed. note--to a question "Will you help" with which Gierek addressed shipyard workers in Szczecin] in the early 1970's? And, finally, what vision of Poland produced the August social contracts?

At all these moments of Poland's post-war history there was a dialogue between the authorities and society as well as a wide range of common goals and strivings. These periods teach us that conflict between the authorities and society does not have to be permanent and inevitable. It shouldn't be in the future. Certain conditions must be met, however, for this to become a fact. Such conditions were met during the periods I have recalled, and they deserve a separate report. But who is going to draft it?

CSO: 2600/380

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Party as Rudder, Compass

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 21-23 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Lukasiewicz: "In the Wake of the 13th PZPR CC Plenum. Rudder and Compass"]

[Text] According to the lessons of historical experience, including the Polish experience of the 1970's, ossification or neglect of ideology lead to reprehensible errors and distortions in economic, social, and political life. Just as socialism cannot be built without a Marxist-Leninist party having a guiding role in society and a managerial role in government, socialism cannot be built unless successive generations are reared in the spirit of socialist ideals, and ideological issues are given proper attention.

### The Rank of Ideology

The 13th Plenum exactly appraised the past decade's practices wherein ideological issues were handled instrumentally. It also affirmed self-critically that the 20-year interval since the party Central Committee's previous ideological session, held 4-6 July 1963, was excessively long. As emphasized, the period did not serve well the party's ideological condition.

In the last few years, due to oversight and attacks of the political opposition, Marxism-Leninism retreated in certain spheres of our existence. The plenum therefore recognized the party's principle ideological task to be a regeneration of Marxism-Leninism in the country's intellectual life, primarily in social sciences.

The plenum pronounced itself in favor of an active role for social, humanistic and historical sciences in elucidating the numerous complex problems of the past and of our times, pointing out the need to debunk old myths and nationalist megalomania, and to counter the trends which are reclaiming reactionary political concepts and courses while positioning Poland within the Western tradition alone. The plenum announced a national advisory session in social and humanistic sciences soon to be organized. The Tenth Congress will be preceded by another party conference on theory and ideology.

The discussion yielded many specific stipulations intended to enhance the offensive thrust and effectiveness of ideological and propaganda impact of the party, elements of the educational establishment, and mass media. In keeping with a decision of the previous 12th CC Plenum, preparations are in progress to establish an Academy of Social Sciences, scheduled to start operation on 1 January 1984. Ranked as an urgent issue was the development of a personnel policy within the social sciences. Party echelons were committed to assign individual tasks on a broader basis, and individual party members were made obligated to pursue training and self-study. A plenary CC session on science, education, and culture was announced to be held next year.

#### A Development Stage

Prior to the plenum, there had been debate in the press and elsewhere about various ideological issues, with frequent queries concerning the current stage in the building of socialism in Poland. This issue is not primarily pragmatic, closely tied with our daily concerns and afflictions (in the plenum discussion, someone joked: "This stage will be what we will label it"), but it has a profound theoretical and methodological significance of its own. The point is, precisely, not to label stages, as was done in the past, to fit an a priori propaganda thesis, without class-related objective analysis of reality. Instead, it should be done in accordance with the actual condition of relationship prevailing in the base and in the superstructure.

Reflection on which stage we are in is of no major significance to the average person but it is vital for politicians, ideologues, and people who make strategic and immediate decisions. In effect, these decisions affect all of us, so the irrelevance of the question about stages or phases of development is illusory. The adoption in the 1970's of a premature thesis on the construction of a developed socialist society in Poland resulted in serious error in the sphere of consciousness and elsewhere.

Discussions in the mass media prior to the plenum gave shape to an option according to which Poland, rather than being in a transition stage from capitalism to socialism, is actually--due to delays and the crisis--barely at the beginning of the road [illegible]. Cited in support of this claim were the existence of private farming, an extensive private crafts sector, laxities in the area of consciousness formation, and other reasons.

The 13th Plenum took the following stand on this important theoretical issue:

In the course of our country's socialist development, we have to deal with disproportions. In numerous areas we have instituted societal measures and benefit schemes, in some cases ahead of our economic potential, which could be ranked as representing the phase of highly developed socialism. Yet there also exist areas of unadvanced or delayed transformations with their characteristic class-related antagonistic contradictions.

"(Thus) a simple formula, to quote the Politburo report, cannot exhaustively assess our country's complex realities. One thing is clear: we have accomplished in Poland a majority of tasks for a period of transition from capitalism to socialism (...). Among the most important measures of socialism's maturity is high social productivity of labor with a soundly organized economy. If, therefore, a debate on the current stage of socialist transformations is to have programmatic and practical political relevance, it must fully allow for the need to raise labor productivity and management efficiency. Lacking these, it is impossible, even with a dominating socialized economic system, to build a highly developed socialist society."

While thus defining the methodological underpinnings for a debate on stages of development, the plenum declared at the same time that improvement in societal productivity of labor, management level and organization of work are of primary importance in Poland's current conditions because these factors determine the pace and form of socialist transformations. In addition, this is a realistic approach under which the country's possibilities and current dictates of the situation are reckoned with.

#### Revisionism and Dogmatism

Much attention was devoted at the plenum to the consolidation of the party itself, to the strengthening of its influence among workers and its ideological and political unity. In this context, emphasis was placed on the significance of the Ninth Congress, which defended the party's Marxist-Leninist profile, and references were made to the February 1982 Seventh Plenum, which had begun the process of ideological consolidation and restored the party's ability to act as an organization while declaring war on structures outside of the party statute and on revisionist, conservative, and dogmatic trends.

PZPR's ideological and political identity and unity in the ranks were made an overriding issue in the Politburo report, in the discussion, and in Gen Jaruzelski's final remarks. Every effort to subdivide the party had been a cause and an expression of its weakness, and a weak party signals an opening for its opponents, as repeatedly emphasized in the discussion.

Revisionism and dogmatism were recognized as the party's main internal hazards.

"Revisionism breeds opportunism and defeatism, dogmatism gives rise to conservatism and factionalism," the Politburo report reads. "Though coming from different sources and under different slogans, both amount to a demagoguery and produce the same effect: weakening the party and the party's bond with the working people. In the setting of bitter political struggle of our time, opportunism poses a social danger for us."



This matter was extensively taken up by Gen W. Jaruzelski, who in his summing up of the discussion affirmed that neither a revisionist nor a dogmatist believe themselves to be what they are, because "the first one sees himself as the only genuine producer of socialist renewal, while the second regards himself as the only defender of the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Experience has shown both tendencies to be dangerous to the party. There was no shortage of criticism of these two sets of views. It was pointed out that, in accordance with the historical experience of the worker movement, both revisionism and dogmatism were a danger to the communist party. This position was fully reflected in the 13th Plenum's resolution. In effect, the formula of a battle waged on two fronts--against rightist and leftist extremism--is binding on the entire party, just as affirmed in the Ninth Congress resolution.

#### Conformity of Words and Actions

In upbringing, the best method is personal example, and in ideology, conformity of theory with practice and of words with actions. Such statements recurred in the pronouncements of most of the 44 participants, all workers without exception. The representatives of work establishments put the matter clearly: daily life performs the upbringing function best. People evaluate socialism and the authorities not by their intentions and resolutions, but by the operation of institutions, the supply system, and by officials' treatment of applicants.

Many bitter complaints were addressed to the bureaucracy, operation of transit services, the imprecise provisions of law. To affirm the genuine renewal in our life, we must overcome the perception of bureaucracy as intractable and the widespread disrespect of applicants in institutions and offices. The law must more effectively guard social justice.

Aside from problems of purely ideological and theoretical nature handled with much insight by such scholars as Z. Grzelak, T. Walichnowski, J. Reykowski, J. Wjatr, N. Michta, K. Doktor and others, the issue of social justice was prominent in the plenary discussion. Worker comments were dominated by a "justice option." Of course, it was not a primitive variety of egalitarianism, clamoring for "soup from a common pot" and "total equality." Even in the preamble to the discussion it was affirmed that the objective was not superficial equality patterned on the slogan "to each an equal amount," for "equality" would not then mean "justice." The point is to wage a more effective war against the partisan interests which are warping economic reform, for compliance with the law, and for eradication of abuse in private trade, crafts, and Polonia companies.

Thus it was not an assault on those sectors, but an insistence on enhanced supervision of the state, along with more "equitable" acquisition of affluence. Although one could sense an excessive belief in the power of controls applied from the top, along with tremendous irritation at

the newly-rich fringe, those did not represent a negation of the rationale for these sectors' operations within the economy, but rather a call for their streamlining, proper taxing, and regulation.

Human irritation resulting from encounters with cases of dishonesty, by-passing the law, chicanery and theft is fully understandable. It must be taken into account by the authorities.

Cases of the private sector's circumvention of the law were pointed out by Stefan Paterek of the Victoria Mine in Walbrzych, Sofia Stepien of the Czestochowa Linen Industry Plants, Julian Krauss of the FSM in Bielsko Biala, and Jerzy Maniawski of the Nitrogen Plant in Torun.

The plenum upheld its stand on a platform for national accord, as formulated earlier by the party, and summed up in the motto: we ask no one where he comes from if he comes with good intentions. The plenum resolutely rejected the principle of political pluralism, affirming in the Politburo report: "The party's guiding role in society and directing role in government is fundamental to our system. What is known as political pluralism or free play of forces amounts to a call for the rudder and compass to be abandoned out at sea."

On youth concerns, the party leadership self-critically assessed its activity as inadequate and announced intensified efforts. An offensive in the political struggle against opposition was proclaimed. In personnel policy, new standards were instituted, and the so-called nomenklatura was significantly limited in scope, the term itself being replaced by "party recommendation to a leadership position."

In this brief report, it is impossible to survey the 13th Plenum's topics, themes, and problems in all their richness. One thing is beyond doubt: ideology's stocks are going up.

#### Krakow Meeting On Party Changes

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ZT): "From a Session of the PZPR Krakow Committee Executive Board. Assessment of Security and Order In Nowa Huta District. Preparations in Plants for Winter Season. Status and Changes in Krakow Party Organization. Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] A session of the PZPR Krakow Committee Executive Board, chaired by PZPR Krakow Committee First Secretary Jozef Gajewicz, was held yesterday. In its first segment, an appraisal of security and order in Nowa Huta District was made, primarily in connection with disruptions of public order.

In a protracted discussion, with activists from Nowa Huta and Lenin Steel-works participating, numerous problems were discussed in detail, including the continued decrease in the numbers of demonstration participants, the

absence of a spontaneous response conducive to the organization of disturbances, participation of persons from outside the district in such disturbances, and attempts to exploit religious assemblies. The public's increasingly observed tendency to disassociate itself from organizers and participants in brawls and incidents was emphasized. The efficient, productive and very rapid operations of control forces on 13 October 1983, coupled with the increasingly frequent responsible posture of the public, persuasive and condemnatory towards organizers of incidents, offer hopes for the continued containment and elimination of similar situations in the future.

The executive board made a decision on preparations for a program of coordinated action to assure permanently the rule of order in Nowa Huta District.

During the discussion, reflections were offered on the causes of repeated incidents of this kind specifically in the Nowa Huta area, on the sociopolitical situation, on problems of social pathology, delinquent behavior, and crime-generating situations in Nowa Huta which heavily contribute to the background for and occurrence of such behavior.

A second item on the Executive Board's agenda was a report on the preparations of city services for the 1983-84 winter season: heating, power, gas, roads, and transit. Following a discussion in which chiefs of these services took part, a submitted report was accepted. GAZETA KRAKOWSKA will soon resume this topic.

Later in the session, current conditions and ongoing modifications in the Krakow party organization were reported. Membership enrollment increased in the past 9 months, as young people keep coming to PZPR, convinced that it is one of the most important avenues for vigorous activity to benefit Poland's continued socialist development. In a recent period, party organizations and echelons have evaluated party membership's numerical strength, class composition, and breakdown by individual community.

Tasks intended to enhance discipline in party organizations and echelons, and work with young party members and candidate members have been assigned. Expanded contacts with youth organizations were initiated. Youth commissions and young member teams were appointed within certain party echelons. Steps were taken to begin the formation of activist groups among young party members in workplaces.

In subsequent parts of the session, acting on the basis of the 13th Plenum decisions and resolutions, the Executive Board adopted a political-organizational plan covering the October 1983 - January 1984 PZPR reports-elections campaign. It also adopted a schedule for its conference and took a motion concerning the number of delegates to individual reports-elections conferences on KF [Factory Committee], KD [District Committee], KM [City Committee], KMG [City-Gmina Committee], KG [Gmina Committee], and ROPP [Center For Party Work] levels.

The board also expressed its position on a draft PZPR CC instructions concerning the amounts and computation formula for party dues.

#### Piotrkow Trybunalski Province Plenum

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jerg.): "Plenum of PZPR Provincial Committee in Piotrkow Trybunalski. Serving the Working Class--By Deeds, Rather Than Declarations"]

[Text] Following a quarter of a year of the PZPR Provincial Committee's operation, a second instalment of the provincial echelon's plenary session was held yesterday. It was devoted to the provincial organization's key problems and tasks in consolidating unity and cohesion of party ranks.

Consultations of Provincial Committee documents, on an unprecedentedly broad scale, are a response to opinion prevailing among the PZPR membership and nonparty activists. The final part of the two-stage plenum, chaired by KW First Secretary Stanislaw Kolasa, was attended by Gen Brig Tadeusz Dziekan, PZPR CC Cadre Department chief, and Wieslaw Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU.

During the session, information was provided on the course and results of a 3-month consultation campaign conducted in certain subdivisions of the province to consult on principal problems of interparty work. There were 14 speakers in the discussion. Its dominating topics were consolidation of the party, consistent implementation and checking of decisions and resolutions, appropriate preparation of training sessions and meetings, and assessment of ideological-moral attitudes of PZPR membership. Much attention was devoted to the PZPR reports-elections campaign. Among the speakers in the discussion, Gen Brig Dziekan focused on unity and cohesion of party ranks, effective implementation of adopted resolutions and programs adopted by each party organization and echelon. Party work in difficult conditions lies ahead of us, he emphasized, so the experiences and motions of basic party units should be exploited to the maximum extent possible.

Ideological Conference of Zgierz Party Organization. PZPR Strong Thanks to Membership Consciousness

Yesterday's city conference in Zgierz, several days ahead of the Lodz City Committee's plenary session on principle tasks for an ideological campaign outlined in the 13th PZPR CC plenum, was targeted for dissemination of the output of PZPR CC plenary deliberations and for the preparation of motions to enrich the Lodz Committee resolution.

A discussion, in which comments were offered by Barbara Linkiel, Stefan Wolski, Maurycy Ignaczewski, and PZPR CC member, Jerzy Nastalczyk, resulted in the adoption of directions for an ideological offensive

intended as an aid to all Zgierz area party organizations in their development of activity programs. Special attention was paid to the familiarization of the Zgierz city party and economic aktiv with "Principal Assumptions for PZPR Personnel Policy" and with a need for the development of a citywide system of consultations and public opinion polling to exploit public opinion more extensively in all party work, along with improvement and reinvigoration of the work of societal and institutional inspection organs, and up-to-date reporting of results to the public, especially in worker communities. During the discussion, suggestions were made as to the need to develop for the province a uniform system for appraisal of attitudes among teachers and educational supervisors. Considerable attention was focused on the inculcation of correct ideological attitudes among youth.

#### Party Meeting With Unionists

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by (gi): "To Manage More Effectively, Collaborate"]

[Text] Chaired by Kielce Provincial Committee First Secretary Maciej Lubczynski, an advisory session on trade unionism was held yesterday. Its participants were trade union chairmen, party secretaries of factory PZPR units, and directors of several dozen enterprises of the province. In attendance were also: Provincial People's Council Chairman Ryszard Abrog, Governor Wlodzimierz Pasternak, and Stanislaw Cieslinski, chairman of the Advisory Task Force on Trade Unions.

PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Zdzislaw Kowalski noted that Kielce Province already had 120,000 union members, including 70 percent of workers. Union organizations with the highest number of member are found in large industrial plants: M. Nowotko Steel Works in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, Starachowice FSC [Truck Factory], and Predom-Mesko Metalworks in Skarzysko Kamienna. However, in many cases unions are still not regarded by the administration as a partner with whom to solve the problems of plants and work forces. Percentages of party members in union membership of new union structures are also too low.

The discussion offered opportunities for an exchange of experiences, including references to inadequate collaboration between management, self-government, and trade unions, tardy implementation of the law on social labor inspectors, and problems involved in the development of housing construction.

M. Lubczynski declared that it would be more difficult for directors to manage their plants without cooperating with trade unions. According to the PZPR CC 13th Plenum resolution, it is the task of party organizations to assist in the development of new union structures.

8795

CSO: 2600/286

## IMPACT OF SOCIO-HUMANISTIC STUDIES EVALUATED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 46, 13 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Jozef Baran: "Ideology of Things or Values"]

[Text] There are many elements defining the role of social-humanistic sciences in the socialist system. First in line are the goals of socialism; building a society of social justice, a society without exploitation and humiliation of human dignity, a society "for man." In this area, social sciences delineate a vision of a new society, formulate the criteria of its realization and the conditions of its fulfillment. And then, socialism is a system which must develop harmoniously; a system which, besides reconstructing the socioeconomic and political structures, makes and must make also deeper reconstruction in the cultural-spiritual sphere of the society; a system which, besides transforming the material-living conditions of people, must transform the rules and norms of community life, the existing value systems, evaluation systems, and above all, man himself. The fulfillment of these goals and tasks is simply impossible without the all-round development and ever fuller use of social sciences.

The development of socialism inevitably leads to a constant increase in ideological-moral motivation of human activity. The ideology of possessing things is ever more being replaced by the values of life and culture. The spreading of ideological-moral values is, in my opinion, a particular characteristic of socialism: it is on one hand a result, and, on the other hand, a condition for the development of socialism. Social-humanistic sciences have multiple influences on this process; they hasten and modify it, awaken and transform human motivation, contribute to the emergence of new value systems, evaluations, aspirations, and vital aims. Moreover, social-humanistic sciences can and must jointly solve certain questions connected with technical civilization. Today's techniques, technology and organization of production processes dehumanize man, his life and activity; weaken, or also in many cases, simply annihilate social ties, sense of community, etc. Such are, among others, the social effects and social costs of scientific-technical revolution. The negative effects of the social division of labor also have their place. Socialism, to be sure, liquidates the phenomena of exploitation and social inequality characteristic of capitalist relations, but does not liquidate all phenomena existing and functioning in presocialist formation; does not liquidate, at least in the early period, all the negative effects of the social

division of labor. However, the social division of labor is not only a question of differentiated duties, labor conditions, and responsibility, but also--such are the consequences of this phenomenon--proper division of material goods, of various types of privileges, leadership, prestige, and the like. Liquidating old, negative phenomena, of course, of a classless type and character. In the beginning phase of building socialism deformations of various types--Lenin wrote of this many times--arise and are born: abuse of leadership, bureaucratization of administration and management, mistakes in staff policy in relation to national-historical traditions, and also in science, education, and upbringing, in culture, and the like. Social humanistic sciences can oppose and counteract those tendencies and phenomena. They can uncover their sources and especially indicate their effects. Through the sociopolitical and economic education of society, they can also contribute to the rationalization and humanization of management and administration, of the power-wielding of both political and administrative-state leadership.

The role of social-humanistic sciences increases excessively in connection with the constantly intensifying battle and confrontation of two social-structural systems. This confrontation, to be sure, is present in all planes of social life, but most strongly in the ideological sphere. We are today, one can say, witnesses of an open ideological war between the socialist world and the capitalist world, between Marxist-Leninist, socialist ideology and bourgeois, imperialist ideology. After all, social-humanistic sciences and scientific environments themselves have become terrain for sharp ideological battles. The classic example of this is our country, in which every few years it comes to ideological confrontation, to a deep crisis in the ideological sphere, in the sphere of social and humanistic sciences. The events of 1980-1981 are in this respect a characteristic culminating point.

Ideological battle against a political opponent must not be reduced only to the present day situation, existing in our country, or even to the conflict existing today between socialism and capitalism. One also cannot reduce it to campaign activities: if a crisis exists, it is necessary to fight it; when it passes, one can relinquish the political battle. Tensions and crises appear from time to time, but ideological battle in the arrangement of the two systems, between the forces of socialism and capitalism constantly continues and will continue as long as the capitalist environment exists. The battle's intensity depends on the internal situation in the country, in the socialist camp, in the whole international workers' and communist movement, and also on the situation in the world.

So, we are treating the battle with antisocialist, revisionist, and counter-revolutionary elements and forces, with antisocialist ideology, as a permanent thing, which accompanies and will continue to accompany socialist building as a characteristic "coefficient" of the building of socialism; because with ideological-political opponents there is not, nor can there be, peaceful coexistence.

The role of social-humanistic sciences is dual: their task is the perfection of the functioning of the rules of socialist society, and at the same time opposing, combating, and eliminating negative phenomena, all kinds of barriers and checks in development and progress.

During the period of emerging from the crisis, social sciences fulfill many tasks:

- 1) They ought objectively and comprehensively to make clear the sources and character of our crises, and of the latest crisis in particular. The state of knowledge and tenets up to now in this respect are not, in my opinion, satisfactory, while the matter is more important than it may seem "at first glance"; a full comprehensive interpretation of the character of our crises, in the first place, complies with social expectations, and this fact must not be taken lightly.
- 2) Social-humanistic sciences ought to contribute to the integration of the nation and the society, and this means integration in the double meaning of the word: one, in the sense of the formation and strengthening of social ties, the creation of community, a sense of belonging, and joint responsibility; two, in the sense of the integration of the nation and the society around the realization of its basic goals and socioeconomic, political, and cultural tasks.
- 3) These sciences ought to release the initiative and socioprofessional and cultural activity of the wide masses. The inspirational-motivational role of the social sciences is, therefore, one of the most important tasks which stand before the social-humanistic sciences during the period of emerging from the crisis.
- 4) I would likewise include among the most important tasks of the social sciences at present the formation of opinions, moods, the social climate, and above all the sociopolitical, historical, and economic education of our society. By transforming the political, historical, and economic awareness and culture of people and by creating a proper climate in the country, one shapes the desired attitudes and behavior of particular individuals, groups, and social classes.
- 5) Social-humanistic sciences ought to contribute to working out instruments and methods for steering social processes, the use of which would never again allow the emergence of tensions, conflicts, and crisis situations in our country, especially in the form of "leadership--working class" or, more widely, "leadership--world of work."

However, if the social-humanistic sciences are to realize these tasks, and realize them effectively, they must beforehand emerge from the crisis themselves, make an assessment of their own situation and their own position, and draw from this for themselves the proper conclusions. But, as is known, there is no less of a crisis in the social-humanistic sciences than in the spheres and areas of the social life of our country. From where did it come? Firstly, it is not the first crisis in social sciences during the period of People's Poland; they have gone through deep crises in the past, especially in the years 1948-1949; 1955-1956, 1967-1968, though, of course, for slightly different reasons and in slightly different conditions, and not always in a similar context. Secondly, many representatives of the social sciences, including also those recruited from party environments, maintain that the crisis in the social sciences is a reflection of the totality of the situation existing in the country.



But I think (I have expressed this in many publications) that this position, generally speaking, is incorrect. There is in it one correct point, which is that, in fact, the situation in the country had to leave its own negative imprint on science in general and on the social-humanistic sciences especially. Another thing is also beyond controversy, namely, that the crisis in the country was, among other things, conditioned by the fact that leaders, or, more widely, those who in practice lead, to too small a degree used the tenets of social sciences. But, for truth's sake, it is necessary at once and clearly to say that, firstly, the situation in the social-humanistic sciences contributed to a very large extent to the emergence of the crisis in the country; however, it has happened more than once that scientific workers justified, supported, and "made sacred" incorrect decisions and activities. Secondly, in social sciences themselves there occurred phenomena and facts which gave rise there to a deep and multilayered crisis: a crisis of values; a moral (ideological) crisis; a crisis in the development of one's own branch; a crisis in the motivation of creative activities; a crisis of goals, perspectives, aspirations, and sense of activities; a crisis of social ties, interpersonal relations, and mutual trust; a crisis of relations with leadership and with the party; and, finally, a personal crisis--deep frustration. And so, let us repeat, looking for the sources of the crisis only on the outside is both from the point of view of evident facts and also from the point of view of Marxist methodology an incorrect position. In other words, not taking into account the internal sources of the crisis is inconsistent with the Marxist theory of social processes. Thirdly, the opinion that the crisis in social sciences is a simple reflection of the situation existing in the country is an expression of defeatist attitudes and permitting oneself a luxury--better to lay the blame on somebody. Fourthly, if the blame is laid on external elements--it is understandable--one does not to anything to liquidate one's own pathological phenomena or to emerge from this state of things; one waits, and then when the reality in the country changes, the situation will also change in the social sciences. It is difficult even to say whether such a position is better called peculiarly fatalistic, or simply naive. In the end, it comes out the same.

In society there is a general conviction that despite the fact that we have very developed social-humanistic sciences, despite the fact that some of these disciplines, for example, sociology or philosophy, have beautiful and rich traditions, world class and recognition, they do not, however, fulfill the proper role in our country. They have not become, so far, a motivating power or, as defined by Marx, a productive power of the society, a productive power that counts. I think that this opinion is true to a large degree. In fact, the possibilities of our social-humanistic sciences are great, but they have not been used in a rational manner for years. With us they are, therefore, more a potential than a real force. From where does this come? Wherein do the reasons for this state of affairs lie? I think that those sources should be looked for both on the side of those who lead in practice, especially party-state leadership, and in the scientific environments themselves. In the first group of omissions, mistakes and failings in directing science take the lead. This directing has been neither effective nor consistent. During the whole period of People's Poland, we have not formed an effective and rational system of steering the development of science and culture. We also have not modernized the rules of the functioning of scientific institutions and organizations. From the point

of view of the requirements of modernity, they are, as a rule, obsolete, excessively developed and bureaucratized, and from the point of view of system requirements, they are very saturated with antisocialist elements.

The last matter is a result of negligence in ideological-political and party activities, in scientific environments, as well as the result of the mistakes made in the sphere of staff policy. An essential shortcoming of recent years was also the lack of a close connection between scientific research and practical needs. With this went hand in hand a too weak use of science for the socio-economic and cultural practice of the country. On the other hand, not using scientific environments, people of science and scientific possessions had and had to have multiple negative meanings: 1) science in such a situation did not become a productive power of society; 2) it had a negative influence on the development of science itself; 3) it lowered the motivation for the creative activities of scientific environments, their professional morale; 4) a continual drop in the value of science, which, quite naturally, was a highly negative phenomenon, socially and morally harmful, took place in the social awareness of the society. As a consequence, this led, because it had to, to socioeconomic and cultural stagnation in the country.

12432

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Effects of Ideological Party Plenum

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Rudolf Golonka, head of WOKI [Provincial Ideological Indoctrination Center] and Wlodzimierz Malec, head of the Provincial Committee Department of Propaganda, by R. Augustyn]

[Text] [Question] The last plenary session of the KW [Provincial Committee] passed a resolution on the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the ideological and political strengthening of the party and in shaping the socialist awareness of the residents of the Opole region. This resolution is geared toward the accomplishment of a specific goal while the development of a detailed plan for its implementation has been entrusted to departments of which you, comrades, are in charge. This plan is ready and at the end of August it made its way to the basic echelons. This represents a process which is not at all new. Therefore, where do we find hope that this time it will be successful and that it will stimulate the party within the sphere of its ideological and political activity?

[Wlodzimierz Malec] I would like to call attention to the fact that this plenum had a rather exceptional character; it was not narrowly specialistic for one and secondly, it took on not short-term tasks but, I would say, those which program or steer the work of the provincial organization for a period of many years. The goal is to create a proper climate and conditions for the activation of wide party spheres and to increase their responsibility for ideological and political activity. For it is time to change the custom that the responsibility for these matters rests solely with the, so-called, ideological sectors.

[Rudolf Golonka] This activation actually took place prior to the plenum during the wide-scale preparations: what I have in mind here are the scientific polls and research pertaining to the level of informational awareness of the residents of Opole and its regions as well as consultations about the themes of the lecture paper and draft plan of the plenary resolution. I believe it may be said that the work plan which we have now made into a schedule has been worked out by broad spheres of the party aktiv--the same ones which are now going to implement it. Thus, it is no longer the same old routine whereby the KW passes some sort of resolution automatically, sends it out and has the whole matter off its hands.

[Question] But bearing in mind that ideological plenums always seemed to say the right magic words and somehow did not succeed in opening sesame, it is possible to doubt that this time, the plenum will succeed in doing so. That all departments involved in party activity should take care of ideology is something that was also discussed at one time.

[Rudolf Golonka] While the effects are such that even though everyone agrees that it is necessary to restore ideological activity to its proper rank, ideological topics constitute only 1 percent of POP [Primary Party Organization] meeting records with socioeconomic issues being dominant. Starting with this resolution and this plan, things have to change.

[Wlodzimierz Malec] It is possible that those valid magic words were not accompanied by further action which we can call, an ushering in. The plan, about which we are talking, forces out to a certain extent the implementation of particular tasks--this is not the repetition of slogans but the assigning of tasks to particular persons and deadlines with the appointment of comrades in charge of and responsible for the implementation of the tasks. For example, in regard to the issue of expanding the sphere of persons occupied with ideological work, which can also be called the socialization of this activity, we have adopted a series of decisions which are formulated in such a way that in a later settling of accounts it will be difficult to pass over them or discharge them with generalities. This document contains assignments for the economic, agricultural and organizational sectors. These tasks are connected to the reform, to economizing and to the anti-inflationary program but they are expressed in such a way that party activists and basic organizations do not undertake the task of making routine decisions in these matters but rather the dissemination and the reaching of the awareness of society with these political and ideological-moral themes carried by the reform.

[Rudolf Golonka] However, in addition to this a principle has been adopted whereby KW political workers are automatically training lecturers and are committed to give a lecture once a month at an ideological field meeting. This did not exist before in the KW. We will be organizing group field trips into a given area's party activity and will offer our services to meetings. This should take the form of significant lecture-type assistance especially in areas which are weaker in terms of cadres. This socialization which we are talking about does not only include nonideological sectors. In basic echelons, for example, it has become customary that centers for ideological-upbringing activity or ROPP's [Regional Center for Party Work] are responsible for training. For this reason, echelons alone would seldom engage themselves in this field. Now, there are specific tasks for them in the work schedule. The same pertains to POP's. In my opinion, we must break this rather convenient habit of transferring ideological work, if only training work, for example, to narrow specialists and, in addition, frequently from outside a given community. This is understandable in small centers or in rural areas but thus far, this practice had been used most extensively by large industrial plants which undoubtedly are capable of being self-sufficient to a significant degree.

[Question] I am certain you will convince me, comrades, that in developing this work schedule you have thought of every important detail. However, did you give consideration to capability or did you devise it with needs in mind? The latter are enormous while the former, let us agree, are much smaller.

[Wlodzimierz Malec] As for needs, certainly but as far as capabilities are concerned, we took into account not only those which had lay open to date but also those which had not been utilized. We know that it is a difficult task for the secretaries and the aktiv; that they will not be able to cope with the increased responsibilities. However, what matters is that they too join in the socializing of ideological work. It appears from our research that the graduates of WUM-L [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] and of other party schools are used to a minimal degree for political work. We have committed the secretaries of party echelons and organizations to settle accounts with these graduates by the end of October and to assign various tasks to them for the coming year. There really are a lot of these people.

[Rudolf Golonka] After all, they have at their disposal increasingly richer material intended to aid in preparing training lectures. It is possible to still have reservations as to the quality and timeliness of these publications, however, the progress made here is enormous. Right now we already have five topics at our disposal which will be implemented during the new training year, five more will be implemented in October and we are waiting for contributions from TRYBUNA LUDU and other instructional aids. It is necessary to learn how to manage by oneself more frequently because, I would think, that the times when the aktiv really needed significant assistance from the party apparatus are slowly passing.

[Wlodzimierz Malec] And that is not just because the powers of this apparatus are limited and that the lecturer-instructor cadres have dwindled considerably. Simply put, this matter cannot be solved with the help of specialists alone. We must all be active in propaganda work. Without this, progress in the implementation of party policies will be doubtful and this will be the case in every field--from ideology to agriculture.

[Question] We have said quite a lot about party training but the shaping of the political awareness of the residents of the Opole region takes place primarily outside of lecture halls. Even the plenum itself had a profile which was more broad than strictly ideological.

[Wlodzimierz Malec] The primary topic of concern was the ideological-political strengthening of the party or in practical terms, the entire scope of party influence on society. Therefore, this also includes party tasks in the field of education, culture and science--in other words, in opinionmaking communities as well as in social, professional and self-governing organizations. The socializing slogan applies here as well. Figuratively speaking, the goal of our activity will be such that in matters of importance to WSP [Provincial Party School], for example, the party will have an influence on this community not only through contact of the ministerial secretary of the KW with the school rector but mainly

through the party organization. What matters is that the party members of opinion-making communities feel responsible on a day-to-day basis for party policy in their area and that the effects of the work of these communities be compatible with our goals.

[Rudolf Golonka] We are trying to instill this kind of feeling of one's party responsibilities in the participants of courses for the working aktiv which works in unions, self-governments, national councils and youth organizations. However, for the teaching community we have additional, somewhat specialistic topics which are required within the framework of the usual training in POP's. However, it should be pointed out that our work does not end with the assignment of tasks. We will also assist, supervise as well as settle accounts. Currently, we are recruiting full-time ROPP assistant directors for ideological-upbringing matters. We managed to create full-time positions for this purpose without increasing the apparatus by moving workers closer to the area of activity.

[Wlodzimierz Malec] Getting back to the role of the POP and the party members themselves, I would like to stress once again that their personal and group influence in the community is a condition for the strengthening of party influence on given communities--a condition for the success of cultural party policy. We have been observing, if only to mention in the last half-year, that many school POP's as well as those in the field of culture are already beginning to regain their position and positive feedback is automatically evident there: those establishments where party work is improving are obtaining better work results. We want to maintain this type of dependence. After all, one of the assumptions made during work on the work plan was the stimulation of ideological-political activity--the stimulation of activity not for appearances sake or for a short-term effect but for a longer period of time. This is a program open to all initiatives.

[Rudolf Golonka] There already has been a series of ideological plenums in basic echelons. We have gathered information about sometimes totally new, original initiatives. Moreover, we are anticipating that the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, which is coming up in a few weeks, will require substantial supplementation in all resolutions and work schedules.

[Interviewer] And then, what will remain will be the well-regulated implementation of assumed tasks. I believe that this newspaper will take an active part in this while the readers would be pleased to learn from our information that this time, ideology has gone beyond the sphere of magic, lofty words. I wish to thank you, comrades, for the interview.

#### Elblag Meeting on Party Control

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 30 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (b)]

[Text] Yesterday, during deliberations at the plenary field trip session in Malbork, the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] of Elblag concentrated its attention on the need for further

improvement of the inspirational and controlling function of the party which constitutes the basic condition for the fulfillment of its controlling role in the state and its leading role in society. Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary of the KW PZPR, presided over the meeting. Also present were, among others, members of the PZPR Central Committee: Stefan Walter and Stanislaw Slawek; the chairman of the WK ZSL [Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party], Franciszek Socha; the vice chairman of the WK SD [Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party], Kazimierz Murawski; the vice chairman of the WRN [Provincial People's Council], Kazimierz Solak; the governor of Elblag, Col Ryszard Urlinski, and the chairman of the KW PRON [Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], Ryszard Szkolnicki.

The report of the KW PZPR Executive Board was presented by the KW secretary, Leszek Witkiewicz.

The report outlined the major conditions for the fulfillment by the party of a leading and, at the same time, ancillary role toward the workers class and the nation. This role also implements itself on a local and unit scale where regional echelons are the animators of democracy and programs of social development as well as organizers of the daily efforts of their communities. At the same time, regional echelons must have the ability to interrelate the general party policy with the specific determinants of local communities. The leading role of the party becomes more complete and evident as the participation of the member masses increases. Therefore, the leadership of the party may be measured in terms of the degree of relationships between the party apparatus and the aktiv and between the aktiv and all party members.

Hence, the implementation of tasks specified by the Ninth PZPR Congress: care and concern for the development and strengthening of intraparty democracy, credibility and authority.

Many people have left the PZPR ranks for various reasons but new members are coming in.

The provincial economy is reporting increasingly better results and in many respects it leads in the country although there continue to be various difficulties. Nevertheless, positive trends are evident and they should be reinforced. Plant echelons and party organizations have their specific input into this. Positive effects may be observed in agriculture, although, some socialized units are struggling with economic and financial difficulties. Old causes are partly responsible for this. However, the reform also lays open the effects of unconcern, mismanagement, lack of discipline and the mediocre level of diligence by the work forces.

The report presented the development of workers self-governments which function properly in most enterprises as well as the development of the union movement. Alongside a generally proper attitude of plant administrations toward self-governments and trade unions, there are unfortunately also negative examples.

Party echelons and organizations must counteract this categorically. Animated activity in the voivodship is being unfurled by the PRON while its initiatives and actions are gaining social approval.

The report also illustrated the situation in youth organizations; accentuated the meaning of the socialist upbringing of the young generation and emphasized the role of allied cooperation between PZPR, ZSL and SD in the shaping of socialist democracy and in making important decisions in the region. Recognition was given to the activity of the army and of law enforcement agencies.

It was stated that the image of the current sociopolitical situation in the province would not be complete if the issues which worry the region's residents were to be omitted. These include: the cost of living, prices and their actual or rumored increases, which lower motivation for professional and social work, while among farmers--this includes procurement prices for agricultural products and their relation to the cost of machinery, tools and means of agricultural production. Many problems still arise from the continuing shortages of supplies on the market, from the housing situation of many families and the low level of efficiency of the municipal economy. The KW informs the central authorities about such matters while in the case of issues which are dependent on local factors, it supervises closely the progress made in handling them. Much importance is placed on counteracting signs of bureaucracy and various deviations. An important issue is the successful combating of various forms of underhandedness, profiteering and living at the expense of others. The system of conferring in reference to draft plans of important state and party decisions requires improvement. The number of letters and complaints addressed directly to party echelons is mounting, which, on the one hand, points to increased confidence in them by citizens and, at the same time, demonstrates that there exist many irregularities within the sphere of handling public grievances. The KW Executive Board states in its report that the better we recognize and solve social problems and the more effectively we react to occurring irregularities and counteract negative phenomena which delay the process of socialist renewal--the more definitively and not just in name only, will we fulfill the leading role of the party and gain social approval for this role.

Many important matters were raised in the discussion. Boleslaw Grabowski presented the successful activity of the party in various areas of public and economic life. Wladyslaw Nacel pointed out the results to date of the activity of regional party work centers. Ryszard Szkolnicki stated that there are already as many as 186 basic PRON elements in the province which constitute approximately 11,200 members. He presented the current and upcoming tasks of the movement and discussed the responsibilities of PZPR members who belong to it. With reference to the goals laid out at the Ninth Congress, Marianna Cebula stressed, among other things, the need for open activity of considerable significance to work forces or other communities as, for example, open POP meetings and joint discussions by the parties interested in a given problem matter. Marek Roman pointed out the improper attitude of management at a horticultural enterprise in Gronow Gorny toward the POP and proposed that appropriate party action be taken in this matter. This proposal was generalized by Withold Gintowt-Dziewaltowski who stated that this is not an isolated case. Therefore, it is necessary to increase party influence over improper attitudes of party members who fulfill management functions. The plenum accepted this proposal.



In addition, the following expressed their views in the discussion: Jaroslaw Dywizjusz, Mirosław Wojdak and Henryk Grycel.

The plenum passed a resolution which states, among other things, the necessity for the further and consistent strengthening of the bond between the party and the workers class, and all the working people of the voivodship. The activity of party echelons and organizations must be accompanied by a sense of great responsibility for work results, work effectiveness and the ability to draw into party undertakings those people who in being guided by patriotism wish to participate actively in the process of socialist renewal.

#### Party Strength in Ideology

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 1-2 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by [R]]

[Text] Yesterday, a traditional ceremony was held in Prudnik which inaugurates another year of party schooling. It was attended by lecturers, instructors and organizers of party schooling as well as by the aktiv and workers of the ideological front from the entire voivodship. Present, among others, were: Zofia Wilczynska, member of PZPR Central Committee; Jan Chawarski, Kazimierz Dzierzan and Zdzisław Niedzielski, KW [Provincial Committee] secretaries, as well as Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski, chairman of the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Committee]. Marian Magdziara, first secretary of KM-G [city-gmina committee] PZPR in Prudnik and chairman of the KW PZPR Ideological Committee, presided over the meeting.

The inauguration was a ceremonial occasion during which medals for "The Spread of Marxism-Leninism," merit awards for "Service to the Opole Region" and book awards were given to lecturers, instructors and organizers of party schooling who had distinguished themselves through their work. There were also words of gratitude for dedicated service to the party in the realm of ideology and for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism under such unfavorable conditions which at the same time, required the ideological-political activity of PZPR members.

Above all, however, the gathering in Prudnik was to serve the active exchange of views and the adding of specifics to the tasks standing before the ideological front at the start of the party schooling year. Secretary J. Chawarski, presented a paper on this subject. In it, he stressed, among other things, the particular period in which we are inaugurating educational work in the party-- a period of the reports-elections campaign. This campaign should be conducive to a conscientious settling of accounts by all party organizations and echelons of their ideological activity. For it ought to be understood that ideological-upbringing work must push itself forward more and more to the forefront of party responsibilities. Party losses arising from neglect in this field were all too great and the struggle with the ideological and political opponent is too heated and uncompromising for party organizations not to be prepared for it. The socioeconomic conditions for the taking on of an ideological offensive are still not the best; however, optimistic premises are also beginning to appear. The rate at which the crisis is being overcome and the attitude of the public toward the opponent's endeavors also depends on ideological-upbringing work. Ideology

can become a material force if it helps in releasing the general social activity of the masses. Comrade Chawarski also discussed the organizational-programs details of the current party schooling year as well as the main directions of more broadly understood ideological-political work of the party in our voivodship.

After the paper, the lecturers and instructors addressed a series of questions to KW secretaries pertaining to the problems involved in party schooling. They also shared their observations and assessments of the many inadequacies and weaknesses occurring in party education and in the shaping of the ideological awareness of society.

#### Plenum on Social Order

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 3 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn]

[Text] Today's plenary deliberations of KW [Provincial Committee] of the PZPR are devoted to the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the strengthening of public law and order and in combating manifestations of social pathology. Up to now, plenums on this subject were usually held routinely. The discussion pertained mainly to the area of interest of prosecuting organs and administrators of justice; the resolution would declare an unsatisfactory state of law-and-order and would order intensified activity in crucial areas. Undoubtedly, these were necessary debates; if they were not sufficiently effective, then it was probably because the adopted proposals were directed to the outside while seldom taking on the shape of concrete actions within the party itself and in the attitudes of its members. After all, social order is not only the effective work of the MO [Citizens' Militia] and of the judicial system. Recent years have presented enough evidence that their efforts, though they be worthy of high recognition, do not always give the desired social effect. Social order is the direct offshoot of the state of public awareness, of the level of their personal culture and civilization and of their morality.

However, this statement of fact should not lead to the conclusion that in relation to party structures, the responsibility for social order should be placed upon the ideological-upbringing sector. At the last KW plenum, strong emphasis and the shape of practical consequences was placed on the thesis that every party member is an agitator and that activists from all sectors should influence public awareness while their specialties only have an organizational-topographical meaning; after all, they determine different areas for the implementation of the same goals. This truth can be seen particularly clearly in the example of today's debate topic. It will, undoubtedly, also be seen in the course and effects of this plenum.

Many critical commentators of Polish social order try to find in it proof of the incompetence of socialism as a model of public organization. It is impossible to prevent this type of viewpoint with reminders that criticism of Polish social order has a history several hundred years older than the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. Such critics should be presented with the facts which will also meet the longings of citizens who for a long time have been dreaming of a law-abiding, rationally organized nation.

The party has convinced society that it is capable of defending socialism effectively and restoring social calm. Now, it must show that this calm is not an end but a means and that the party knows how to use this calm so that it will not become stagnant. Of course, what matters here is not activeness solely within the sphere of moralizing and propagating valid instructions because for years we have accumulated an overgrowth of words over actions. It may be assumed that today's debate will also bring in highly valid recommendations. However, the crux of the matter is that the main direction of these recommendations answer the question of how to force out the practical implementation of the precepts of long standing. Public opinion would be given the greatest satisfaction with even small-scale but effective activity by POP's [Primary Party Organizations] in their community in those areas which are the most threatened and neglected.

9853

CSO: 2600/171

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Over Three Million in New Unions

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by W. Jurczak: "The Trade Union Is the Largest Social Organization"]

[Text] "No decision without us" is not just a slogan of the new movement.

One year ago the Polish Sejm passed a law on trade unions and their new form. And so began the laborious effort to rebuild the trade union movement without which it would be difficult to imagine the existence of a socialist state. It is no time for festivities or jubilees; we cannot escape the fact that hardly after 1 year, the trade union is playing an ever-increasing role in our social life.

In accordance with the law's provisions, the trade union organization could begin routine, legal activity only in 1983. The period for getting factory structures moving and finding new members of the union organizations was even shorter.

What was it that happened in less than 1 year?

Day after day, the unions gained adherents and active members. Today, there are more than 3.3 million unionists in Poland. Is that a large number or not?

Before we answer this question, one needs to recall that only a handful of people began the reconstruction effort; sometimes they were exposed to great difficulties. They did not lose heart because of this; they showed this by their effort and involvement. Most factory workers looked at these efforts with indifference at the best of times. Time, however, soothes and quiets emotions and common sense prevails. Others quickly joined the pioneers of the trade union movement. The unions today in their new form are a force with which factory managements must reckon. As their representatives often stress: "The unions are not the easiest of partners."

This is how it should be. The time of assenting and applauding as anarchy swept the land has forever passed, and management has begun to construct a partnership-like arrangement. They say that the factory director is making

the effort so that his trade union partner becomes stronger. It is easier to find a common language with a strong partner, easier than trying to defy one of the three goals of the economic reform, namely the independence of the enterprises.

The legislator who passed the new law was farsighted and careful. He foresaw that the rebirth of the trade unions would be difficult. In their first phase, always the most difficult, the unions were supposed to organize and consolidate in their home plants and mills; only after the second year were they to move to the phase of greater, supraplant organizations. Life, however, will not tolerate all plans. Not after 1 year, but even after several months it turned out that it was "too tight" for many unionists, that, especially for unions in small plants, the strong partner for management might arise only if efforts were combined. That is how the federation was born. Trade unionists from Szczecin and its province are actively participating in the establishment of supraplant organizations. They participated in the establishment of a longshoreman federation and initiated the establishment of a nationwide organization of a Polish Teachers Union. Recently, trade unions from Szczecin's Polmozbyt Technical Commercial Automobile Center [POLMOZBYT] proposed the establishment of a federation including unions from all related countryside enterprises. The trade unions from all 15 POLMOZBYT firms have expressed a desire to join; following the lead of Szczecin were trade union members from Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Bialystok and Gdansk. There are more of such Szczecin-type federations.

The existence of the new trade unions is not a bed of roses. Besides, trade unionists are not trying to make it so. Many of their colleagues in the plants and mills continue to take up activities of the union's elements in the reserves and anticipate specific actions. Many managers still can find no common language with the unions; a method of systematic dialogue cannot be worked out. That this dialogue is necessary is borne out by daily life in the factories and their workforces.

As before, social consultation takes place before important decisions are made; this happens not only at the governmental level, but also at the plant level. All affirm: "We want to be consulted." Before the principles for consultation are spelled out, discord can arise...

Members of the young movement are not discouraged by the difficult problems. At a recent meeting at the Baildon Mills and in the presence of the highest personages of our country, the trade unionists stated their credo: "There will be no decisions without our participation." They adhere very strongly to this principle.

I think that the next year of union activity will not bring so many new experiences, but many problems will be solved which are still bothering the movement today.

## How Union Chairmen Are Selected

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Adam Teneta: "How Michal Z. Was Elected Chairman of the Union"]

[Text] Strictly speaking, Michal Z. does not belong to those who are descended from old railroad hands with work traditions spanning many generations, and who invariably pass their trade down from father to son. Born the year before the worst of the world wars, Michal Z. hails from Siedliski in the province of Golicie. From there to the nearest railroad station in Bobowa, a town renown for a wise Hebrew scholar, was a long several kilometers. The peasant family of the Zychs did not have it easy; how could it be easy when they had to raise as many as eight children, four boys and as many girls, and themselves from a plot of land no more than 2 square hectares?

Michal lost his mother when he was 16. He rather quickly had to leave home in search of his food and a trade. At the end of the 1940s, he came upon a construction site about which much was then said and written--the much praised and sung about Nowa Huta Steel Mills. He began working in the rolling mill and coking plant; but at the same time, he studied. He attended a trade school from which he received a master bricklayer's license.

But he did not choose the mills or Krakow as his new home. Together with Janek, a colleague from Siedlinski, he made his way to Trzebinia where he opened the first chapter of his railroad career.

The young man faced the dilemma of "what to do?" Return to being a bricklayer, or replace his green uniform with a navy blue one? He chose the later. After all, he already had a railroad specialty; at the station in Trzebinia he acquired a switchman qualification. But he did not go to Trzebinia because he wanted to be near his family. So, he picked a different location with the Polish State Railroad [PKP]; he picked Tarnow.

Here, exactly 20 years ago, the new worker was warmly welcomed because the PKP was already short expertise even then. The only problem, however, was that he was considered to be too young to carry out a switchman's duties. These duties were then left to those more senior than he, while he was assigned more laborious, dangerous and responsible duties. He became a shunter. Here one works Fridays and Sundays and in the open, without regard to the weather. It was also shiftwork: 12 hours on, 24 hours off.

After 2 years of this drudgery as a shunter, Michal Zych requested from his superiors a transfer to some other job.

He was made a revisory conductor and began to travel along all the passenger routes in the country. This was also not very nice or easy work. Sometimes, the work chased him from home during the night and also brought him back then, and Michal was already married and had children; in Tarnow he also had a cooperative apartment. He often felt like a guest in his own home,

but came to know the hardness of every bed in almost every PKP night stop and could taste the food of department "collective nourishment points." This certainly is not the best food since the professional sickness of those wearing navy blue uniforms is [a compendium of] illnesses of an alimentary nature from which almost 90 percent of all railroad workers suffer.

Zych wandered these PKP routes in such a manner for 10 years. In 1975, he attended a course for engineers and moved up to the next level on the professional hierarchy. Like others, he was supposed to ride around in a team of three: the engineer and two revisory conductors. But this was only on paper, since it was known that there was a personnel shortage in the railroad. For instance, the Tarnow junction has 2,200 people in its work force, but there is still a shortage of 400. If we were to measure these shortages against actual needs, then the number of shortages would climb to 700!

In other words, these inadequacies in the teams are corrected by overtime: instead of a monthly average of 182 hours of work, people must work 220 hours. True, thanks to this overtime, wages grow, but the result is that a worker becomes a guest in his own home! Additionally, the trains grind and squeak, and run even more poorly, slower and less punctually...

To this sketch of Michal Zych, we need to add several additional facts relating to his public activities. At the end of the 1970s, he joined the party; earlier he had joined the Railroad Trade Union [ZZK] and had been elected by his colleagues as the one to trust. The test came for him in the last year of a successful decade and, to a certain degree, later in the following months. When the Tarnow junction of the PKP, as elsewhere in the country, began to experience the rise of the elements of Solidarity, Zych did not abandon the ranks of the ZZK. At the head of the ZZK trade union organization of 250 workers was his colleague, also an engineer, Stanislaw Pyrchla. Stanislaw Pinas, a mechanic from the local connection section, headed the other union.

The atmosphere between the two was not the best. Solidarity began to attack the boss of the local trade unionists, resorting even to very personal and private issues concerning the man. He could not take it; he said he had had enough and resigned his position. A general meeting of the ZZK was called and people began to think about who might lead this organization through this difficult time. They first nominated and then elected Zych. After having been charged with the duties of a ZZK chairman, Zych went to Zembrzyce for a course of several days. He returned on 12 December 1981. The next morning came the shock of martial law. The railroad was militarized. All trade unions were suspended. There was the question: what next? Uncertainty lasted several months. Then came the fall of 1982 and a new law on the trade union movement; the law had disbanded all previous organizations. Bitterness and the recurrent question: "Why us too if we were not pushing the country into an abyss?"

But life was moving on its way. There were difficult months of national concern and doubt. It was a little quieter at the Tarnow junction. There

were no strikes or demonstrations or disturbances. The railroad went on as before the crisis. In the local area, there were no leaflets, provocative slogans or hostile symbols of political resistance. There is also another important fact here: none of Solidarity's activists in the Tarnow PKP was interned during the period of martial law. But does this mean that the entire work force unanimously understood the gravity of the situation, that there were no hidden currents and goals? Hardly!

The railmen began to say more often that issues were growing here which had to be settled, but that without a trade union, it would be difficult to do so. An initiatives group began to slowly crystalize; people were interviewed, their positions probed. Somewhere in mid-December 1982, it was decided to convene a meeting of the representatives of all services; they had one aim: elect a Founders' Committee and move, in effect, toward the registration of a new organization. At this meeting, people stated that a trade union was necessary to them; they manifested a concern that dealt with this issue. Besides Michal Zych, the machinist Janusz Swierczek and the pensioner Stanislaw Wiktor participated.

They worked out a program, prepared the necessary documents, and on 14 January 1983, they presented them all to the Tarnow Provincial Court. Three days later, Judge Krystyna Krukiewicz announced that the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers of the PKP Station in Tarnow had been registered with other trade unions.

The very next day, this fact was announced to the entire work force and new members were awaited; on the day of the organization's registration, there were 83 members. But people were waiting for something else: How would people react to the fact that a new trade union existed already?

That was important, but the reaction was peaceful, if one does not take into account the individual and anonymous, but not very nice, telephone calls. Although it was well-known that the new union would not please everyone and that a lot of time would be needed before people faced its activity. Slowly, but every day, there were new people expressing their desire to join the new union.

Today, 310 railmen belong to the trade union, including some 60 retirees and pensioners; that is to say that every eighth worker of the Tarnow junction is a trade unionist. More than half of the former members of Solidarity also belong to the new union. It has already been active; a leadership has been elected in total compliance with democratic principles. The union's new leader is, of course, Michal Zych.

And so they began their own routine and legal activity--the payment of allotments, but only to their own members; this was clearly written into their program. There is money for relief, however, for people in the most difficult of situations; here they are not operating according to trade union criteria, but according to a person's needs.



We are sitting in a small room on the first floor of the Tarnow Train Station. Michal Zych is constantly pulling out documents which show what the unionists here are doing. Strictly speaking, union work is only now getting underway. How can it be otherwise if the union boss executes his union duties only on his own time, but still performs his normal professional job as well? For him, normal work is that which is allowed by his service makeup. Only on 1 October did his boss allow him 40 hours a month to settle people's problems; after all, someone has to pursue this full-time and bang on the necessary doors.

People come to see Zych with various problems. The most difficult ones deal with "setbacks." It is known that with such severe shortages in manpower, anyone who wants to work for the railroad is accepted--with all the later consequences of this procedure. Some neglect work discipline, shirk and sometimes drink on the job. Valuable cargos tempt those with weak characters; after all, who knows better what is in each of the train cars if not the railmen? Afterward, there is adversity, despair and problems when the affair becomes public. Either those accused, their relatives or their wives will come running to the union for help. Then, even if they are not members of the NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] of Workers of the PKP station in Tarnow, they find a way to believe that in their misfortune, there is someone who will extend to them a helping hand.

But how far do we freely defend the drunkard, loafer and thief? The room's walls on the first floor of the station building were the silent witnesses of these dramatic conversations. The proper guarantees with Zych's signature were carried from here to the investigating agencies. But the chairman also has his own somewhat private way of coming to terms with "the delinquent" by guaranteeing a long-term correction in behavior. The results of this method are seemingly first rate from an educational perspective...

The railmen-unionists in Tarnow dealt with various issues in the first 9 months of union activity, and not only with issues defending the individual interests of people working at the junction. They dealt with issues of their canteen and the provision of their buffets; ultimately bringing the issues up to the provincial level. Now, their intention is to settle the pressing housing problem; around 40 percent of the work force do not have a place of their own. After years of interruption, the first highrises are going up; there is the struggle for more land in the local area. There will be assistance in the building of several dozen single-family houses in these areas by way of credits. This is the same way mechanical equipment, and, more importantly, materials are secured.

Money is being found for the repair of houses belonging to those who live outside of Tarnow; they can ride to work from their native villages. It is the intention, as planned, that by 1987, but no later than 1988, all housing needs will be satisfied in the area. This is entirely possible with the stipulation, however, that candidates for their own dwellings declare themselves ready to work and contribute at least 400 hours each to the effort.

Finally, it would seem that Chairman Michal Zych and those people who established a trade union organization at the Tarnow junction have mapped out a program for themselves for both the near and distant future. They also hope that the goals which the railmen support are realistic.

#### Transport Drivers Support Federation

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 17 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Kazimierz Rynkiewicz by Helena Polpiuk: "Transport Drivers on the Way to Establishing a Federation"; time and place not given]

[Text] The profession of truck driver, more than any other profession, creates conditions for developing initiative, independence of action and skill in the organization of the work effort. Kazimierz Rynkiewicz, a native of Bialystok, has acquired these qualities very well. At the beginning of the 1960's, he completed courses at the Automobile Institute in Gdansk and spent the next 10 years as a truck driver. He first worked in a radio and TV service plant; after a nationwide integration of trade, he ended up in the Transportation Enterprise of Domestic Trade [PTHW] in Bialystok. The enterprise works in three provinces. Currently, he is no longer on the road, but has become a director of the administrative-social section.

This duty has caused Kazimierz Rynkiewicz to focus his attention on human issues. When the Sejm first passed the new union law, the PTHW began to make up the first list of members. For a long time, the trade union body was small, but the organization now has 600 members. A 13-man board heads this trade union. Kazimierz Rynkiewicz, the union chairman, is not satisfied with his organization's growth and has decided to take further steps to fill its ranks. He has proposed the establishment of a federation for the unions operating within the PTHW. The first to adopt Rynkiewicz' initiative were the transport drivers from Warsaw and Lodz. Later, other enterprises joined in. Currently, 47 enterprises of the PTHW, which have legally registered unions, have decided to join into a common organization. Combined, these unions make up an organization of more than 12,000 members.

During a recent nationwide congress of trade unionists from PTHW organizations, Kazimierz Rynkiewicz was elected chairman of the Founders' Committee of the Federation of PTHW Trade Union Workers. Soon, the federation will attain legal status because all necessary documents have been provided to the State Council. Before the union is registered and federation leadership is elected, we took advantage of this interview with the union's provisional boss.

[Question] So you want to distance yourselves from merchants?

[Answer] Yes. Before 1980, PTHW work forces had to belong to the merchants union. There was no other alternative then. In the meantime, our leaders have professional problems totally different from those of salespeople and wholesale dealers. We will now try to take advantage of the opportunity to set up a separate federation made up exclusively of transport unionists. I will admit, though, that we took the first step in the direction of the

Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. Unfortunately, we were disappointed with the meeting which took place on 28 March.

[Question] Do you think that with the few thousand members in your federation you will disappear among all those federations with hundreds of thousands of members?

[Answer] If the need for further trade union integration arises, then I see no obstacles if we have to combine with the transport workers of other sectors, like diary workers, meat transporters, communications specialists, or even with such a great force as the National Enterprise of Automobile Communications. Of course, we want to keep the self-government and independence of the individual members of the federation.

[Question] What does federation membership require?

[Answer] The payment of dues of 10 percent of the income of the individual unions. But this pays off in the end because we intend to standardize a really large number of important issues through this federation.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] The organization of the principles of emoluments.

[Question] We know this story: "We receive less than the average worker, let us have more." And so the inflationary merry-go-round goes higher. That is not the way.

[Answer] I agree, but our drivers work in three professions. They are both convoy drivers and loaders. They do not work only 180 hours a month, but 230, despite the fact that they still earn less than the average national worker. With all their bonuses, they make exactly 11,876 zlotys a month. Meanwhile, the workers in most enterprises earn as much as 15,000 zlotys for the same period.

[Question] But you have to consider the fact that their costs would rise because of your wages; the prices of goods would also increase. In the end, the clients themselves would begin to seek increases or recompensation. Let us finally come to our senses!

[Answer] Okay, let us quit this subject for awhile. Not only wages require trade union involvement. I would like to say something absurd: Besides the known shortages in tires and working clothes, the bonuses for thrift with regard to the above are included in the wage fund and are taxed. I ask you if we can talk about thrift here, in this situation?

[Question] The quality of your rolling stock is not the best either, is it?

[Answer] Things are not going well; as much as 49 percent of our rolling stock are vehicles totally amortized. In trying to maintain their efficiency, our workshop mechanics are all but performing miracles.

[Question] Is it true that the PTHW driver has to eat his soup in specially designated locations?

[Answer] True. We are trying to change this rule. It is absurd for a driver to have to drive off his route, wasting time and energy, for a meal. We propose two solutions: either the money equivalent in lieu of the meal, or coupons authorizing us to have meals at a General Consumers' Cooperative or Rural Consumers' Cooperative bar. A similar rule should allow for cool beverages during heat waves.

[Question] I have heard complaints that the trade department is forgetting about its drivers.

[Answer] One hears various things about us in any evaluation. We first hear that PTHW work forces play an important role in market operations by their rapid transport of goods. On the other hand, we received not even symbolic best wishes from the ministry on the transport drivers' holiday. As if it were trivial; but it was annoying. It does not bother us that the ministry is allowing individual trade organizations to set up their own transport bases, or is calling for private rolling stock for utilization. What is bitter, is that it is happening during a decline in the amount of goods being transported.

[Question] I suggest that the ambitious attempts of the federation to settle various workers' problems be tempered not only by the general market situation, but also by the feeling in the trade ministry itself. After all, your livelihood depends on the orders of such firms as WPHW [Provincial Enterprise for Domestic Trade], the Provincial Consumers' Cooperative and the Peasant Mutual Aid. These firms have the right to decide whether it is worth using their own transportation or to take advantage of PTHW services. Reform can crush brutally the claimed aims of the federation.

[Answer] We will fight.

[Interviewer] Best of luck.

#### Unionists Consult Vacation Requirements

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Trade Unionists Consult the Requirements for Worker Remuneration for Vacation"]

[Text] Warsaw (PAP)--Proposals for changing the requirements for estimating remuneration for vacation time were the subject of a meeting with trade unions on 27 October 1983. Representatives from several dozen trade unions from the largest factories and mills, as well as representatives from national union organizations participated in a nationwide meeting in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

As is known, the Labor Code stipulates that a worker receives the same remuneration for his vacation time that he would receive were he to be working. The implementation of this principle presents problems if the issue concerns workers who are paid monthly. Misunderstandings can also occur if it is necessary to grant remuneration for the vacation time of workers who receive changeable earnings, are employed in piece or hourly work, or, especially, are not involved in free Saturdays. Currently, remuneration for 1 day of vacation is fixed by assessing a base amount by taking an average workday from either 3 or 12 calendar working days during the period, including Saturdays, that the worker is to be on vacation. As a result, remuneration for 1 vacation day is lower than an average workday. The so fixed "vacation day" is multiplied by the number of working days, including Saturdays, occurring during the period. If the vacation is longer, the worker is on his own. On the other hand, a worker who takes short vacations loses if there are no free Saturdays during his vacation, or if there were fewer Saturdays during the period he considered when he first requested remuneration for his vacation.

For this reason, a correction was proposed. In determining the amount of vacation remuneration, free Saturdays would not be considered. So, the fixed amount would be multiplied by the number of days a worker would have actually worked according to his work schedule during the period of his vacation.

After clearing up the doubts connected with the worktime of various working groups, the trade unionists adopted the proposed solution as the most concise and advantageous for the workers.

12247

CSO: 2600/244

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Suwalki Province Union Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by p i]

[Text] Yesterday, the trade union organization in the Provincial Meat Industry Enterprise in Elk hosted the active members of the trade movement from all of the institutions in Suwalki Province. Over 500 representatives of union boards and work force committees filled the workers' dining hall.

Representatives of central and provincial authorities participated in the meeting: the head of the Socioprofessional Section of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Gabrielski; the assistant department manager of the payroll department, Kazimierz Kalinowski; the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Suwalki, Waldemar Berdyga; and the governor of Suwalki, Kazimierz Jablonski, among others.

The chairman of the trade union board from the Elk meat plants, Tadeusz Kratiuk, cordially greeted the meeting participants.

Organizers of the deliberations created the conditions for the discussion of problems that are preying upon the active members of the reviving trade movement. The exchange of views was multilateral and was not constrained by anything. The deliberations continued into the late evening hours, with only one break for a meal.

Several score union members expressed their opinions during the meeting. The lateness of the hour made it impossible for us to give a more complete presentation of the opinions voiced yesterday. The statements by Stanislaw Ciszewski from Olecka, Stanislaw Samitowski from Biala Piska, Teresa Szczucka from the State Farms [PGR] in Bania Mazurskie and Jan Witkowski from the POLMO [Automotive Mechanisms Factory] in Elk elicited the greatest interest.

Stanislaw Gabrielski imparted interesting considerations on the topic of the rebirth of the trade movement in Poland. Kazimierz Kalinowski answered numerous questions from the union members on the issue of wage policy and, above all, on wages that are lower than the median national wage in our region. His statements were interrupted by informed rejoinders from union members.

At the end of the deliberations, the participants in the union meeting made an appeal to people of goodwill to maintain peace.

#### Wloclawek Trade Union Problems

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 6 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by m a t]

[Text] Thirty thousand workers from Wloclawek plants and institutions belong to union organizations. There are 280 union cells registered in the province. This is 40 percent of the total employed masses. The problems of the union movement were discussed during yesterday's meeting of the aktiv and the provincial political-administrative authorities. Those who took part in the meeting were: the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW], Krystian Luczak; the president of the ZSL Provincial Committee [WK], Roman Pstrong; the secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party [WK SD], Janusz Reron; the chairman of the People's Provincial Council [WRN], Henryk Pychynski; and the chairman of the Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], Roman Blaszak. The chairman of the Information-Advisory Group on Trade Union Matters, Hubert Berens, presented information on the current development of the union movement in Wloclawek, pointing out the conditions and difficulties with which the trade cells are struggling. The issue of incentives and the reward system, as well as social-living problems, were particularly strongly emphasized during the course of the discussion. The conferees became acquainted likewise with the general sociopolitical situation in Wloclawek, which was presented by the governor, Tadeusz Gembicki.

#### Rebirth of Trade Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 6 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Boleslaw Aszkla; portions within slantlines are subheads which are integral parts of the paragraph]

[Text] The process of rebuilding the union movement is arduous and, therefore, gradual. It is true that union organizations are already active in the majority of plants and enterprises in Bydgoszcz, Torun and Wloclawek provinces. It is also true that the list of unions which rally the greater portion of work forces is more and more extensive; and that every month about 300,000 to 350,000 new members join the trade movement in the country. But it is also true that in some of the plants in our region the creation of unions is proceeding very slowly.

/Restoration of the trade movement/, thus, is not proceeding with lightning speed (after all, it would be naive to expect that it would be so); however, it does have stages that perform the function of stimulators. From among the events of the last few months, the meeting between union members in the Katowice Baildon steelworks and the prime minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as the joint session of the Politbureau of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] and the Presidium of the Cabinet, had such a function, specifying--on the basis

of the Katowice discussion--the relationship of the party and the state administration to the trade movement being created. There is no way to consider these two events, a month apart, as separate.

The meeting at the Gdansk shipyard with the participation of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski must also be remembered although, in comparison with the meeting at the Baildon steelworks, they were in two different worlds. There was a discussion of the past in the shipyards, and it summed up the destruction and deformation of the trade movement. The future is being contemplated at the steelworks--because only in this circle could the prospects for trade unions in Poland, their role as defender and representative of the interests of working people be discussed constructively. General W. Jaruzelski spoke about this at the Baildon steelworks:

"At the current stage of our national life, the role of trade unions is acquiring simply historical dimensions; precisely because the new trade unions are, by their nature, a symbolic example of the path to understanding. In their ranks, they band together the representatives of all of the past union trends.... You are already a large, several-million-strong force--which has a plan and which senses the people's problems.... We want powerful, authentic trade unions. The party wants such unions.... This is an important, unusually significant cell in a socialist democracy. It has an established place in our constitutional system."

The future belongs to the new trade unions. That is also why the statement decisively ending the time of vacillation or, rather, illusory hopes by the conspiratorial circles for the reanimation of a political opposition movement, under the label of a trade union, was found in the address by Wojciech Jaruzelski: "...there will be no negotiations with troublemakers who repeatedly abused trust and led the country to the brink of ruin. Poland is too great and responsible a matter to be able to try and toy with it." I believe that the minister should have taken such a stand toward the new unions, especially toward the public aggressiveness of the groups of participants in the meeting at the Gdansk shipyards.

Among the basic themes in the discussion at the Baildon steelworks were the /difficulties in cooperation/ between union activists and some of the managerial cadre in establishments and enterprises, and also with some workers self-governmental bodies. This is not a problem that arose during the course of that meeting. This problem exists as the humdrum commonplace--it is also often reported by the union members in our region. Many managers conceal their indisposition toward new unions simply through scrupulous compliance...with trade union laws. Such formulations as, for example, that the unions have a right "to take a stand" on workers issues, "to exercise control" (with what kind of effect?) are used, yet--simultaneously--it is not defined how much this stand is obligatory for the management. A great many managers feel that it is entirely obligatory; however, there are those who insist that it is not at all obligatory.

Perhaps the most concise thing that can be said about these latter managers is that they were not equal to the tasks of their positions, if they assumed that any kind of law is a collection of questions and answers, and the law on trade unions is a ready scenario of conversations with union members. Everything depends on interpretation. Minister Jaruzelski took a stand on these problems:



"I believe that this is a process that [must take place] in its own good time. Yet this is, above all, an issue of real people. The basic obstacle here is not a law or a formal settlement, but human imperfections, whether resulting from a lack of experience or from definite oversensitivity by [those who are] ambitious and perhaps, in individual cases, from ill will also. We will clear out this last type with the fullest consistency."

Many difficulties in the new trade movement are an outgrowth of its breakup. Among other things, this pertains to the consultations with union members on decisions most important to the working people. How, indeed, can there be consultations with more than 10,000 independent and self-governmental trade unions? Is it at all possible to reach a consensus of the represented opinions when, after all, the voice of every union has equal weight? This, among other things, is the source of the trend to create structures of suprainstitutional unions; all the more, this gives to the trade movement an opportunity for stronger influence. State authorities favor this: An all-Polish Union of Polish Teachers has already emerged and new federations are registered. The State Council benefits in this case from its rights to consent to an earlier--than that formulated in the law--creation of supraunion structures. Many active members, however, upset the ambition of some economic associations to seat their "own" federations. The breakup of the union movement will not be surmounted in this way.

Minister Jaruzelski asserted, still once more, that the entire fortune of past trade unions must once again be in the command of the union members. The present unions do not have significant financial resources at their disposal. Taking over the aktivs in establishments is a relatively simple step, although it will not, in a radical way, improve the situation of factory union organizations. Some of the wealth of former unions, however, was of the durable kind (a sanatorium, rest homes, publishing houses, and the like); it served the community and cannot be divided among separate factory organizations. It is an urgent concern that, if possible, union federations take it over quickly.

#### Not Only Consultations

An important issue is the assurance of influence by the union movement on the valid forms of regulations, plans and directives for political activities in the country. There is no way to assure this only by means of consultations, referenda and giving opinions. A representation of the trade movement in organs making such decisions is necessary. Therefore, it is worth recalling that, in the past, representatives of trade unions had seats in the Sejm, in national councils, and in executive party organs. Another issue is whether this representation was real or merely a formality. It is easy for us to go to extremes, however. After September 1980, it was quite commonly known that union members becoming the authorities of other organizations refuted the independence of the trade movement. But what if this same fact were to be turned around to the advantage of the trade unions? With regard to the voice of trade unions, for example, in discharging its directive role through the party--it surely cannot prohibit the participation of their representatives at various echelons of party authority. Besides, neither is the representative "of an estate."

A criticism is often heard in conversations with union members that not all party members joined unions. In fact, last autumn and in the spring of this year, party members were left with complete freedom--they had the right, due to the lately confused course of the Polish trade movement, to the same frustration as all other working people. This was a temporary deviation from a discipline in compliance with the party statute. The PZPR statute did not, after all, stop being valid for the party's members, nor did it undergo a change.

The meeting in the Baildon steelworks was not a chance meeting or a formality. Chairmen of currently registered nationwide union organizations participated in the joint session of the Politburo and the State Presidium, which occurred on 22 September. The timetable for implementing the proposals submitted by union members in the Baildon steelworks was accepted. The need for representatives of trade unions within the framework of the Social Economic Council of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm and the Commission on Economic Reforms was assessed. These are real conditions in which the voice of union members on issues of the working people will resound in Poland with suitable power.

#### Listening to Union Requests

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 11 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Jacek Szwedkowicz]

[Text] A man is sitting before the varnish factory hall. He is wearing denim overalls--the back is stiff with paint, a grimy beret has been put off to the side, and in his hand are a bun and a bottle of mineral water. I ask the man, who is eating a factory worker's breakfast, what does he expect from the trade unions? "Well, that they be a constant wall for the worker..." But even then--I keep pestering the man--when the worker is not in the right? The man swallows a piece, drinks some water from the bottle, and does not take up the subject; he grows silent.

I ask the same question before the assembly hall. Two workers dismiss me with a shrug of their shoulders, a third--for the sake of peace and quiet--tosses out the fact that winter is coming and the unions should get busy with seeing to the supply of the work forces with inexpensive apples, onions, and potatoes. "Don't be stupid," one of the first pair suddenly interrupts, "that's just what August was for, so that the unions wouldn't be preoccupied with frivolities but with the human being." "All right, all right," the one with the apples, onions and potatoes growls back, "I haven't yet gotten amnesia and I remember what our 'Solidarity' was occupied with..." I try somehow to reconcile them in this muddle of thoughts and words; I ask if they feel the presence of the new unions at the factory. "Oh, they write some kinds of announcements on the board, [about] some sort of trip, some kind of meeting, that we should give our opinion. They're there, but they're not exactly making nuisances of themselves..."

The duties of the chairman of the Independent Self-Governmental Workers Trade Union in the Delivery Vehicle Factory [FSD] in Nysa are being carried out, for the time being, by Jan Kotwa (in "civilian life" a tool and die worker), acting as a substitute for the predecessor who resigned. I ask Chairman Kotwa what the unions are doing now, when--from a rough form--the internal structures have become crystallized, when the election fever has passed, and when the time has come to stand eye to eye with the commonplace [life] in the factory.

"What are we doing?" Jan Kotwa repeats the question; "well, we're doing whatever we know how to do." Apparently, you are not making nuisances of yourselves. "We are not in the sense that we are not compelling people to join the organization, we are not deceiving people with the prospect of relief, preferential holidays and such types of supposed privileges. If they want to, when they themselves overcome their own emotions, then they will come of their own will to join, and they will help pull the cart of union work. This is the way we see it, and they surely see it this way. It is important not to repel anyone foolishly; not to repel them by a gesture, a word, or deed."

With what do the people come to the unions? "With their problems, with that which is oppressing them and hurting them in their life and at work. They tell us on the corner: fight for raises, for improvements in working and living conditions; defend our interests. We pick apart every voice and test its legitimacy. These raises, for example...it's obvious that, with the high prices in the marketplace, everyone would like to be earning more. It is just that, in order to get that 'more,' one must first earn it--it says so in the reforms. Therefore, fighting would be appropriate, in the first place, for an elimination of layoffs, which we are catching for supply reasons; for an improvement in labor organizations for production positions; for more efficient work management by foremen and work brigade leaders. When this is seen with the right point of view, then it can be seen where the barriers are that halt production, increase tension, and, as a result, block the road to higher earnings."

Are you pressuring management for this? "And how; at times it seems to me that, too often, I am on the back of the management. The manager says to me: Mr Chairman, I recommended such and such to the supervisors; through the supervisors, such and such should drift down to the workforce...while I say that it did drift down, but in a distorted version. The work force read the request for working on free Saturdays in this transmission as compulsory; the department supervisors should not distort the intentions of management...And in general, these pressures don't take place in forms of ultimatums, on the basis 'people insist that we support them; come on, settle it, or else we'll raise a union ruckus.' Why, the plant is one [party] and so is the work force, and the commonality of interests demands that only that be demanded which is within the reach of combined possibilities. Therefore, these pressures are rather a search for a common language and a search for a way to settle this or that issue. Why should we fly at throats when, with composure, the intellect is more clear-headed and there is a greater chance for a judicious solution?"

What kind of judicious solution does the union already have on its side? Chairman Kotwa is slow with his response; he mumbles that those in the plant are ready to settle with him, that he feels forced to prove himself by some action. Besides, the point, as a matter of fact, was a minor issue, an issue which arose during the potato incident. The welfare section, which directs the supply of vegetables for the winter to the work force, transported these potatoes to the square at the factory and confusion immediately arose. Because everyone from among those interested was secretly leaving work in his department in order to take care of this shipment, to pick out for himself the more sumptuous potatoes, and go after the sacks they've stashed aside. The people had potatoes on their mind, not work, and everyone quarreled with everyone else on this. So we got furious with such an operation and set up the business differently: [there is] a list and a car; and let the welfare service deliver the goods to [each] home at a time agreed upon with the customer. The order was written down, it was weighed, it was delivered, period. We did not have to get involved in this at all. We got involved in this so that people would not have to leave their work, so that the work would not have to suffer, so that the people would not have to be rebuked later: You hold out your hands for raises, yet we still have not used up our resources."

The final question to Chairman Kotwa: Does he sense what hurts the people and what the complaints are of those people with whom he shared the workbench until recently? Kotwa knows what their complaints, needs and expectations are. He says: We will be working this out in the plant together, without private, petty ambitions and without any elbowing for applause. Kotwa can promise this one thing to the people--everything that is feasible, that is in the realm of possibilities in the plant, will be accomplished, regardless of whether someone likes the unions or is angry with them.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Overcoming Party Indoctrination Barriers

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 10 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "Image More Powerful Than a Thousand Words"; portions within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Even the best intentions and plans are of little avail if not coupled with persistent and consistent realization. Ideological and educational work is one of the fields of party activities where this truth is confirmed in a particularly clear manner. Schedules carefully written out, including various levels and forms of indoctrination, remain yet too often on paper, just because of "realization impotence." To translate it to a human language: mainly because of a shortage of lecturers and instructors able to arouse participants' interest in the contents of the programs.

There is no doubt that among the reasons, for such a state of affairs are:

#### Poor Resources

used by lecturers. In fact, these are practically most often words, an ersatz lecture or an excerpt from a pamphlet or other analysis, more or less efficiently read. No wonder then that the topic, often out of touch with environmental realities, and lack of examples that would translate into the language of the experience of a given party organization's members make classes proverbially boring.

And it does not have to be that way! It should not be that way, said comrades from the district organization in Jezyce, a section of Poznan, they were the first. But, as opposed to other statements of this kind, made usually on the occasion of various recapitulations and announcements of new plans, the comrades grouped around the District Center for Ideological and Educational Work [DOPIW] first turned it well over in their minds, and then started a specific job. Its recent results and conclusions are so interesting that they will be presented to the audience of today's regional inauguration of the new year of party indoctrination, during the business part of the meeting, dedicated to the discussion on barriers in indoctrination activities.

The starting point of the Jezyce concept is the truth that the

### Image Affects Consciousness Stronger

than the word, someone said even: stronger than a thousand words. It is also easier to assimilate. But using it requires certain technical means. Contrary to what it might seem, there are not so few of them: various projectors, etc. They are stuck somewhere in concerns and institutions, in some BHP [Industrial Safety and Hygiene] rooms, used rarely or never. The audio-visual equipment in some centers for ideological and educational work is more often hardly used. Why?

/"We recently reviewed various sets of slides, prepared once for indoctrination purposes by the National Publishing Agency,"/ says Mieczyslaw Ulichnowski, head of the Jezyce DOPIW./ "A considerable part of these materials turned out to be obsolete, besides somehow 'soulless': some placards, charts. The same is true of documentaries. Shot in different sociopolitical conditions, some of them make the audience laugh."/

And here, opportunities for an activity opened up for people with inventiveness and initiative. No methodological equipment. One has to make it by himself.

/"During one indoctrination lecture,"/ remembers Ryszard Tomaszewski, secretary for propaganda at the Jezyce District Committee,/ "I noticed someone from the audience supplement his notes with various ingenious little pictures, symbols which made it remarkably easier to remember the point of the ideas covered. I thought to myself: Why not use this method on a larger scale?"/

This way, the idea was born of supporting outlines with little pictures that the lecturer, with a minimum of skills, can make on his own and show to the course participants with the help of the popular "Lech" overhead projector.

This means:

### Help and at the Same Time Variety

meant to be used in general indoctrination, in basal organizations. A higher level methodological equipment has been provided for the training of KZ [Plant Committee] secretaries for propaganda as well staff instructors and lecturers. On the main topic of this indoctrination--theory and praxis of propaganda--DOPIW prepared several sets of slides, illustrating examples of bad and good propaganda, especially visual, from his own Jezyce district. Together with this, training--visual of course--on what, for example, a model distribution of information and propaganda materials in a work place should look like, how to maintain documentation recording the history and the present day of the factory, how to publicize profiles of good workers, etc.

/"Often, POP [Primary Party Organization] comrades rack their brains to invent an intelligent party task for someone,"/ says Comrade Ulichnowski./ "Why should it not be making such equipment for the party indoctrination? The cost is relatively low, in many places more money is spent for incidental matters."

If someone wants, he can even make a movie on his own, on local topics. Of course, even the most talented party indoctrination lecturer will not be able to do it alone. But, after all, there are amateur film clubs, there is equipment, instructorial assistance (e.g., in the Poznan Palace of Culture). Often, on the other hand, there are no sensible topics. Could not it be, by definition, a highly ideological topic?

The fact that this is not, as probably seems to some people, mere fantasy, is demonstrated by a very instructive

#### Example of the Movie "Synchronization"

made by AKF [Amateur Film Club] at the Jezyce Wiepofama Works, with the screenplay and artistic supervision by...Ryszard Tomaszewski, District Committee [KD] secretary, once an AKF activist. This movie will also be shown to the today's regional inauguration participants. Its ideological and artistic concept is based on contrasted sound and visual pictures from one day: 31 August 1982. Against a sound background of the original, adopted from the Polish Radio, recordings of the street riots in Wroclaw, the everyday work in Wiepofama production departments is shown, going on as usual at the same time. The impression is apparently very strong. Anyway, such was also the opinion of the jury of this year's All-Poland Festival of Amateur Films which awarded the author of the movie--made, remember, for party indoctrination purposes--with the Granx Prix!

To sum up, all that has been done so far in the field under discussion at Jezyce means clearing the way, showing /opportunities/ that are sometimes within our reach. The point is for the example coming from the district organization to be implemented in all, or even in most, of the 98 POP's and 18 plant party committees. Staff instructors and lecturers appointed in each organization should be the source of the forms and methods of the party transmission of knowledge that are more effectively conveyed in this manner than by mere disclosure. One should stress: appointed most of the time successfully. Comrades from the KD tell us with satisfaction about the virtually model discipline with which a group of more than 150 instructors took part last year in the additional training sponsored by the "district." What is most pleasing is that in that group of 150 people who often had never so far had anything to do with didactic classes

#### Activists Appeared

having an obvious gift for that.

/"Sometimes, while inspecting the instruction, I was simply surprised by their knowledge, acquired not only during our seminars but being clearly a result of additional individual work,"/ remembers Comrade Ulichnowski.

These people are now taught to operate the audiovisual equipment, they borrow methodological aids that are available, and they are encouraged to make their own, connected with the area of activities of the parent POP. Where there is a stronger organization, there is more and more independent work. In Wiepofama, for example, where they do not have to long for outside lecturers because they have brought up their own group of nine instructors, capable of facing even the most demanding audience.

With enough persistence, there will be more and more such examples.

## Party Involved in Housing Construction

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sna): passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(Bureau report) Instead of a commentary, the following facts: in 1978, almost 4,000 apartments were built in Lublin. The construction enterprises, having approximately the same production potential, operating independently, without any instructions from superior authorities, committed themselves to finish this year only 1,700 apartments. Furthermore, this plan, incommensurably low in relations to the needs, is uncertain. In Lublin, 52,000 people are waiting for apartments./

That is why the highest interest and concern of the party authorities have focused on housing construction more than ever. During meetings, organized with political and administrative activists from enterprises, during out-of-town conferences and executive sessions, various ways and means were sought to overcome unfavorable tendencies which appeared in this part of the economy at the level of city and province. Individual provincial and city party officials also got personally involved in securing for construction such items in short supply as heaters, electric cables, etc., manufactured in other provinces.

In Lublin, the Construction Combine is a giant in the field of housing construction. It built 1,700 apartments in 1978. This year, it planned to build 1,479 apartments, i.e., 240 more than 1 year ago. We must add here that this is the only construction enterprise in the province which has a higher plan this year.

During the last, extended session of the PZPR City Committee secretariat, the manager of this enterprise, /Zbigniew Nowosad /, said that the chances of finishing 85 apartments at Czechow this year are slim. He justified that, in the first place, with a shortage of specialists for finishing work whom they failed to find in the last months. Compared to last year, the employment in this enterprise amounts at present only to 92 percent of the needed number of workers.

Thus, in order to save the endangered housing construction plan, an immediate but specific decision should be made.

Yesterday, another business meeting took place, coupled this time with a visit to the construction site of the Karłowicz section of the city, in which /Witold Przybylski/, PZPR KW [Province Committee] secretary, and representatives of several construction enterprises took part. /The Energopol Engineering Works Enterprise/ in Lublin was represented by its president, /Janusz Studenny/, and /Tadeusz Rysak, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Plant Committee]/, and /the Construction Combine/--by its manager /Zbigniew Nowosad./ /Mieczysław Szpinda/, manager of /the Lublin Construction Materials Exchange/, and /Ryszard Najda/, deputy chief of the Economy Department of the PZPR KW [Province Committee], also attended.



/According to the information submitted by the manager of the Lublin Construction Materials Exchange, supplies of heaters and electric cables are guaranteed to meet fully the needs of the housing construction. The manager added that at no time did the building trade experience shortages of heaters this year. The manager of the Construction Combine, Zbigniew Nowosad, stated, on the other hand, that the finishing of the apartments planned for this year is determined mainly by a shortage of skilled workers./

In this situation, /Witold Przybylski/, the PZPR KW secretary, turned to the representatives of Energopol with an initiative to transfer a group of skilled workers who would take care of finishing the apartments built by the Construction Combine. The request was granted with understanding by the manager and the secretary of Energopol which is carrying out quite successfully, both in Poland and abroad, this year's tasks, increased by 30 percent.

It was agreed that in the next few days a group of approximately 30 Energopol specialists would begin to work at the Karłowicz apartments. /At the meeting, it was also proposed that other enterprises under the minister of construction follow the example of Energopol and come to help the housing construction./ This initiative is also noteworthy.

#### Lack of Common Sense in Local Parties

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Maryniak: "Review of the Ninth Congress: Reason Underestimated"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The analysis of reasons of the Polish crisis, made at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, confirmed that probably the most serious mistake the government used to make was its disrespect for criticism. The facts indicate irrefutably that well before the Eighth Congress, which took place in February 1980, in many workers circles and in the country, also among the youth and intelligentsia, calls were voiced to oppose the growing evil. Unfortunately, they were neglected in full consciousness or their significance intentionally played down. It was often attempted to isolate or even ridicule people who criticized various irregularities./

Such phenomena lead practically to the elimination of criticism from social life, to disregard of people's observations and opinions. Reason, however, made itself heard, mainly through workers and farmers, the criticism being voiced by those who, as they said, "had nothing to lose, after all."

Many provincial party organizations, noticing this voice of wisdom, informed the central authorities about irregularities and the reasons for working people's discontent. Here is, for example, a message sent in November 1979 by the Kielce KW [Province Committee of the PZPR] to the Central Committee which reads: "People's dissatisfaction is caused by the food and housing situation...failure to fully secure heating fuel supplies, delays on construction sites, incomprehensible lack of some pharmaceuticals."

Reporting on pre-Congress meetings with delegates to the Eighth Congress, held in various circles (more than 150 in Kielce Province), the provincial organization informed the headquarters: "Problems connected with increasing prices of various articles provoked keen interest and quite numerous comments. We must say that the activists and lecturing staff were not prepared to clear up this topic.... Fulfillment of our tasks was discussed with criticism caused by fuel hardships, cases of lax discipline.... Pointed out were: shortages and insufficient supplies of sanitary and personal health care products, need to better supply workers with the coal allowance and to improve supplies directed to stores at workplaces."

These were reports without details or information on drastic negligence. Meanwhile, the voices that were heard from factories, institutions, cities and villages presented an extremely sharp and true picture.

By the end of 1979, it was suggested within party organizations that, among others, higher wages for work in unwholesome conditions were needed, and that it was necessary to change wages of foremen, technological inspectors, transportation and foundry workers, etc. Such claims were made, for example, at Chemar [Industrial Fittings and Chemical Equipment Works], Polmo-SHL [Specialized Vehicle Factory], and Nowiny ZCW [Cement-Line Combine]. They demanded improvement of the system of businesses accounting for their domestic production according to the assortment of goods and not according to value. Workers from the Starachowice FSC [Truck Factory], Kielce Polmo-SHL and Koneckie Foundry Works spoke about it. In many POP's the problem of raising prices of some articles was addressed. It was demanded, e.g., at Chemar, that a more efficient control be instituted of the compliance with the system in force in that matter. In the transportation companies PKS [Polish Motor Transport], PKP [Polish State Railways] and Transbud [Construction Transportation] people spoke about shortages of spare parts, the necessity of improving industrial safety and hygiene conditions. Generally criticized were the policy of [buying foreign] licenses, quality of many products on the market, waste of merchandise and energy. Examples of principles of the socialist democracy being broken and of some officials neglecting their duties were pointed out.

All these comments, although recorded, met with no response. They were not duly reflected in the discussion or in the documents of the Eighth Congress. The mass media would present them sporadically, as if ashamed. Too rarely were they brought up to the party hierarchy meetings.

Underestimating the criticism brought about negative effects. It led to an outburst of social unrest, it was revenged with an avalanche of suggestions and demands which were voiced from almost everywhere in July, August and September 1980. Definitely most of the demands submitted at that time were but repetitions of what was said before the Eighth PZPR Congress. It is also necessary to add that an inappropriate handling of common sense opinions in the late 1970's also led to an escalation by the August events of a wave of unrealistic demands and unjustified criticism, often doing wrong to people. It did not take long for the words, "courage grew cheaper and reason more expensive," to assume a tragically real meaning. Criticism became a fashion. Criticism of everything and at all costs and unreasonable.

Today, all that belongs to the past. It is a history from which one can learn much wisdom. A history that cannot repeat itself but should help to acquire knowledge and experience.

The party found enough strength to reject everything that weakened its authority and threatened its natural ties with society. Recognizing its errors, at the same time it erected barriers protecting against other distortions and irregularities.

It was stated in the statute adopted by the Ninth Congress:

/"Democracy in the PZPR ranks is realized through each party member's right to free discussion and criticism within the party."/ At another point of this document, it was stressed: /"The tasks of the primary party organizations are in particular: To bring party members up in the spirit of bold criticism, self-criticism, fighting any signs of suppression of criticism, and reporting to the party committees, including the Central Committee, symptoms of divergence from the party line and program, of breaking socialist democracy, justice, norms of social life and principles of efficiency.... To stand up for all those who denounce irregularities of sociopolitical and economic life, and come out with just criticism."/

And the resolution of the extraordinary forum of the PZPR confirms: /"We base internal party life on tried Leninist principles: openness of political life, internal party democracy, democratic centralism. An honest compliance with these principles creates conditions for efficient execution of the party program goals and at the same time prevents the party authorities from losing touch with society, and ensures everyday control of leadership activities by party members."/

According to these statements, criticism is one of the most important elements of party democracy. Listening intently to the voice of public opinion constitutes a guarantee of the party's full familiarity with the needs and problems of working people. The above decisions, although they are not the most perfect, are worthless if not understood fully and genuinely abided by. Today, it is no longer enough to merely notice criticism, to record comments of reason and truth, and to transmit them to the authorities. What we need today is to react immediately and to counteract the evil we see. Each, even the shortest, delay, makes people suspect that their signals, their reason are neglected again.

#### Party Organization Difficulties

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 13 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto: "From the Proceedings of the PZPR KW [Province Committee] in Tarnow: Difficult and Complicated Problems of Bochnia"]

[Text] (Bureau report) How is the Bochnia city party organization prepared for the approaching reporting and election campaign? Where lies the weakness of the youth organizations in Bochnia? When will the situation in housing construction improve? What about investments in education and medical services? Where should we look for reasons for the weakness of the trade unions? These and many other

issues came up during the out-of-town session of the PZPR KW Executive in Tarnow which took place in Bochnia. Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and the first secretary of the PZPR KW in Tarnow, presided. Members of the PZPR KM [City Committee] Executive in Bochnia and the deputy governor, Zenon Musial also took part.

The information on the sociopolitical situation in Bochnia and trends in the city party organization activities was presented during the meeting by Edward Gajek, first secretary of the PZPR KM in Bochnia. Despite not the best sociopolitical situation in the city, life is gradually returning to normal, he said. This is also reflected in the revival of the union movement. Although this process is slow, it should be added that in this respect Bochnia has had the most difficult situation in the entire province. In many places unionization is still very low, e.g., at ZPH HiL [Metallurgic Industry Plants: Lenin Iron and Steelworks], Cooperative for the Disabled, RPGKiM [expansion unknown], Experimental Production Works and ZOZ [Medical Service Office]. In all enterprises, except for the Stoneware Factory, self-management has been set up. Activities of the city branches of LKP [expansion unknown], TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship], TWP [Society for the Popularization of Culture and Science] and ORMO [Voluntary Reserve of the Civil Police] were restored but their influence on the environment is not too great yet. The TKKS [Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture] intends to resume its activities by the end of this year. The Association of Bochnians and Bochnia District Lovers has resumed its activities.

The degree to which the necessities of life of the Bochnia inhabitants are satisfied has a considerable impact on the evolution of the social atmosphere. This is true mainly of housing construction and educational and medical services. The deadlock in housing construction was broken this year: e.g., 109 apartments were given to people this year. The elementary and nursery schooling facilities as well as the housing situation of medical services are among the most difficult problems.

Sociopolitical and economic issues in the city are a matter of constant concern of the city party hierarchy. This is expressed in the work schedules of the KM organization and executive. The practical realization of these tasks is favored by inspiring and controlling activities, private talks with activists managing individual spheres of the city social and economic life, inspection and construction sites and intervening in case of emergency.

The need for a better planned long-range personnel policy, weaknesses of the city ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union], and the need to strengthen trade unions were all pointed out during the discussion.

The fact that representatives of various circles are missing in the Bochnia PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Renewal] was brought up. Jan Karkowski, secretary of the PZPR KW, highlighted in his speech the good, although not easy, work of the local party organization. Jerzy Sobecki, secretary of the PZPR KW, expressed his conviction that the economic tasks planned for the Bochnia industry will be fulfilled this year. Wladyslaw Plewniak, secretary of the PZPR KW, reported on the results of personnel interviews with full-time party activists. He also outlined the situation within the party in view of the approaching reporting and election campaign.

The executive also took note of an evaluation of the contents of letters and complaints that were submitted to the PZPR KW in Tarnow in the third quarter of this year, and it was informed about the ways they were taken care of.

During the proceedings, many specific decisions and recommendations were adopted in order to improve the sociopolitical situation in Bochnia.

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# PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Tarnobrzeg Plenum on Member Attitudes

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (z. fl.): "POP--Unreplaced Link in the Process of the Formation of the Attitude of Party Members"]

[Text] The role of the POP [basic party organizations] in the consolidation and strengthening of party power was the subject of yesterday's PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] plenum in Tarnobrzeg. A 20-member group of POP and OOP [Department Party Organizations] secretaries, factory committee first secretaries, representatives of the provincial committees of the ZSL and the SD, the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provincial Council, together with the administrators of provincial offices participated in the meetings, which were conducted by KW First Secretary Janusz Basiak. The memory of deceased KW members Jan Sandecki and Franciszek Bednarz, was honored with a moment of silence.

The KW Executive paper was read by Comrade Janusz Basiak. He stated among other things that the main task of the party is the creation of conditions for the consistent realization of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress program, and thus the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the leading role of the PZPR in socialist building and the socioeconomic stabilization of the country. The present state of the realization of the tasks of the POP and OOP resulting from the Ninth Congress resolution, from plenary sessions of the KC [Central Committee] and KW meetings together with the PZPR statute in the area of the consolidation and strengthening of the power of the provincial party organization and with the aim of working out the further directions of the activities in this area, were under discussion during the plenum meetings.

The results of the work of the intraparty commission and the initiation-control group of the KW Political-Organizational Division in the first half of this year together with the results of the research of the activity of 321 POP's and OOP's in 21 party echelons of basic ranks and factory committees were used for the formulation of the evaluations and characterizations of POP and OOP activities.

It results from them that in the first half of this year in Tarnobrzeg Province, 1,299 basic and 328 departmental party organizations, which recruited 31,000 PZPR members and candidates, were active. In the period since the end of December 1981, the status of the provincial organization diminished by 7,066 members and candidates. Persons accepted in the last 10 years dominated among those struck from party rolls. This was a great loss, caused, as it was evaluated, by considerable shortcomings in the work of basic party links in the area of the dissemination of thorough knowledge of facts and sociopolitical and economic phenomena taking place in the contemporary world. The fact also was meaningful that in the provincial organization, just as in the whole party, in pushing toward expanding the ranks, setting high ideological requirements for the candidates was often forgotten. That is precisely why many people found themselves in the PZPR by accident.

From the beginning of last year, the state of the realization of the tasks resulting from resolutions and the party statute clearly improved in comparison with the situation in 1981. In 80 percent of the organizations, frequency of meetings increased and the contents of party meetings were enriched. Especially the resolutions of the KC, KW, KM [city committee] and the KG [gmina committee] together with the tasks for the organization and the party members resulting from them are much more often discussed. Similarly at the center of attention are found the intentions of the government in the area of policy, programs for savings and anti-inflation, for production, for supplying the market, and also socio-economic problems of the country, city and factories.

It was noted, among other things, that in 353 POP and OOP, registers of proposals accepted at party meetings are kept and that 1,457 proposals were written down in them, with the notation that of them 1,348 were finally resolved (81 percent positively, that is, according to the intention of the applicant, but 109 proposals were still in the process of being settled).

The range of party schooling clearly increased; 88 percent among the organizations examined undertook the realization of the accepted program and had four to six ideological meetings; 80 percent of the organizations conducted a census of the assigned party tasks. In 175 organizations (55 percent of those examined), the members who were counselors or members of the party leadership of various ranks during party meetings gave periodic reports of their activity. A prevailing majority (88 percent) of POP and OOP evaluated at meetings the level of party discipline.

The results of the investigations prove that there is already a numerous group of organizations whose systematic work, which is in agreement with the statute, decides about the advancing consolidation and strengthening of the power of the provincial party organization. Belonging to them, among others, are the organizations in the Table Porcelain Factory in Cmielow, which effectively back the activities of union links having as their purpose the improvement of the conditions and organization of work together with the setting in order of the intra-factory system of wages. Also departmental party organizations in the Stalowa Wola steelworks with their everyday work and initiatives are effectively influencing the solving of various problems, among others, material-raw material and personnel together with the successful, generally speaking, results gained by that plant.

Initiatives toward solving various local problems and taking care of pertinent postulates of the population are emerging closely behind active party work. So, for example, from an initiative of the POP in Blazko (Batorz Gmina), the building of a road and a sports field together with the arrangement of a locality for a young farmers club was undertaken as volunteer social work. Similarly, the POP in Krawca (Grebów Gmina) initiated the reconditioning of a road to Wydrza and Grebów and the construction of the bridge over the Lag River which was finished this year. At the suggestion of the POP in Niedzwice (Koprzywnica Gmina) the social school building committee, which has already received a site for this investment and started collecting funds, was created. From a POP initiative at the Grafmasz factory in Opatów, a reading room and social quarters for the personnel were arranged. There are considerably more similar examples.

Besides the active organizations, unfortunately there are many passive ones. Various elements determine this, among others are a lack of experience and ability of the leadership in organizing party work, insufficient help from the administrative echelons, and also the mistrust in the environment.

Both in the study and in the discussion, it was stated that relatively the weakest was by party organizations in health service, in offices of state administration of basic ranks, in cells of agricultural service (especially in village cooperative movements), in trade and other building-renovating firms. It is characteristic that precisely their activity awakens the most reservations in the population.

In the discussion at the plenum appeared: Józef Dalewski, KW member; Józef Grudzien, assistant director of the Party Work Regional Center in Staszów; Stanisław Bak, OOP first secretary of the train transport division of the Stalowa Wola Steelworks; Jan Mackowiak, KW member; Jerzy Grzesiak, OOP first secretary in the Stalowa Wola Steelworks; Andrzej Dulny, KW member; Franciszek Krupa, KM first secretary in Sandomierz; Stanisław Pawlik, KW secretary; Grzegorz Koltun, OOP secretary in ZM Nowa Dęba; Witold Lasisz, KC member; Stanisław Kowalski, POP secretary; Tadeusz Blazejczak, KW member; Tadeusz Krasowski, KM first secretary in Stalowa Wola, and Mieczysław Bednarczyk, KF first secretary in the Stalowa Wola Steelworks.

The guiding motive for their appearance was defining the tasks serving the strengthening of the party and its leading role, and the further ideologico-political consolidation of party ranks. This concurred with the main purposes beginning in party links of a report-election campaign, of which the organizational assumptions, contents and goals were also presented during the plenum.

An especially large amount of attention was devoted to basic and divisional party organizations. The need for schooling their active members, especially in aspects of work with groups of people, was brought up; support for self-education through appropriate publications was postulated. Finally, good experiences from the activities of POP and OOP were shared.



It was emphasized that the attitude of a party member is a conscious choice of those ideas and that policy which is voiced and realized by the party, and the fact that being a party member by one's own choice is an obligation to daily behavior and action consistent with that idea, that the place for the formation of such attitudes are the basic organizations of the party.

The discussion was summed up by Janusz Basiak. The KW plenum passed a resolution concerning the tasks of the basic party links in the consolidation and strengthening of the party in Tarnobrzeg Province.

#### Party Report-Election Campaign

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Mirosław Bogiel: "Words and Actions"]

[Text] In many basic organizations, the first balances and accounts from the past period, which was unusually difficult for party members, were begun.

For now this is not easy. In the party organization of the Zamosc Meat Factory, people are realizing this truth perfectly. "If we want to gain recognition among the personnel," its members say, "we must defend together with the labor unions their proper interests. Everything that concerns people, their sore places and problems, should not escape our attention, because after all, we are also here to help people regardless of their belonging to the party or not."

"In our enterprise, we notice many extremely urgent matters that have already been awaiting a solution for a long time," says KZ [Factory Committee] PZPR Secretary Janina Kazmierczuk. "The question of unifying the wage-employment policy is one of them. It is necessary to say that up to now wages have not reflected true labor input, because the present piecework system, amounting to 50 percent of the pay for each worker, does not create the necessary stimulus for effective work.

"I want to emphasize that from the time the workers self-government was reactivated and labor unions in the factories have been appointed, it has been easier for our party organization. The question here is not only the shared undertaking of problems, although it is important, but also that if something goes wrong we do not take the 'beating' alone. For matters concerning the factory, we have one shared point of view. There are cases when in the settlement of some of them, we must, so to say, apply force on the management, which often delays their being solved.

"Let us take, for example, work conditions. There are leaks in the roof over the processing-butcher part of the factory, and not long ago the inspectors from the sanitary division recommended immediate repairs. We are, after all, producers of food, and it is an unthinkable thing that the technological line should be flooded with water. In the meantime, we often meet with complaints that roofing paper, glue and the like are lacking. Of course, complaining is easy and it is necessary to say that we have mastered this doubtful 'art' very well."

The party organization in the meat factory has decidedly declared a war on such attitudes. Its members believe that many matters can be arraigned within their own capacity without engaging external elements under one condition, however: one must want to. There are, however, problems in the factory, the solutions for which require more than good intentions. Needed for these are more stubbornness and perseverance by the factory administration in demanding the realization of proper needs and postulates of the personnel from various authorities.

"We get the impression sometimes that the administration is afraid to go beyond the enterprise," remarks Boleslaw Bojar, member of the KZ Executive and chairman of the workers self-government. "This probably results from the fact that the management is better evaluated 'from on high' if it does not cause troubles, that is, when there is less intervention. Surely something is amiss here.

"The real bane of our lives lies in the old habits and insufficiencies in economic thinking that still exist. Many of them I notice, for example, in our union because I am a member of the council. In order not to speak groundlessly, I will offer an example concerning subsidies. It is known that the meat industry is subsidized, and the amount of the supplement varies: from 32 to 70 and something percent. Our factory received 51 percent, but last year we paid from our own pockets for lacking subsidies of 308 million zlotys. It seems to me that this is a paradox that for each kilogram of meat we add 10 zlotys from our own profit, worked out in the sphere of production. We are losing in this business, as a region with excessive production of cattle, sending fattened pigs and cows to other regions of the country. Most profitable for us would be to dress the meat in the factory, because as it is, the enterprise loses and the personnel as well and it is difficult to be satisfied with this."

The meat factory in Zamosc celebrated its 25th anniversary this year and in this industry that is already a venerable age. As a matter of fact, the enterprise should be closed for a year and serious renovation should take place. For example, the refrigerating-processing building leaks from the roof to the cellar. A great dampness is noticeable everywhere because, after all, water is the way to maintain cleanliness. Because of the lack of space, the factory has no prospects for development or chances for even modest expansion.

"Modernization, which was conducted 3 years ago, did not solve the problem since it concerned only the improvement of the system of initial cooling," says the KZ secretary, PZPR KW Executive member Michal Kasprzyk. "The matter of air-conditioning and improving the loading work, which, to a large part as in a medieval workshop, is based on the strength of human muscles, is still waiting for solution. We intend to build a new boiler room (already included in the plan) and waste purification plant, which will have great importance for the protection of the natural environment.

"I would still like to mention a matter which will surely interest every inhabitant of our city. We have proposed to the Zamosc authorities the opening of a company shop in which products would be sold continuously from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. On our part, we will assure the supplying of this establishment with the necessary

equipment, its own personnel, and a constant supply of attractive products. It is a question of where. Unfortunately, as of now, our proposition has not met with interest. This is a pity because we would be able to show how business is done. From what we can tell, shops avoid cheap stocks. For example, in our only shop--by the by, working in unusually difficult conditions--lard is for sale; whereas, in other places it is often hard to come across it. It is the same with bones. PSS [General Consumers' Cooperative] takes 25-50 kilograms for a shop, while we sell here 300-400 kilograms. Because we think that opening a shop with our products would to a considerable degree influence the stabilization of the Zamosc market and the relieving of long lines, we do not intend to give up this matter, and we will bother the authorities until they look with a kind eye at our proposition."

It is an understandable thing that for the party organization of the meat factory the most important problems are those concerning their own backyard, that is, matters of production, its remunerativeness, and the possibility of its improvement. However, as can be seen from this last statement, party members in the enterprise do not seal themselves up only in the circle of their own narrowly understood interests. After all they are living among people of their city; they are rankled by similar problems and difficulties, which is why any initiatives tending toward overcoming the difficulties are worth noting.

#### Campaign To Reach All Members

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 20 Oct 83 p 2

[Interview with Maria Wawrzynska, PZPR Lodz Committee secretary by Halina Batorowicz; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The latest, 13th, plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, began a party report-election campaign. What is the purpose of this campaign?

[Answer] The 2 1/2-year term of office of the leadership of party organizations, including the provincial ranks, will end as this year finishes and the new year begins. And so the party is beginning a report-election campaign according to statute. The campaign is necessary for the whole party and all its links, and the main purpose of the campaign is the strengthening of the PZPR. The election of new leadership is an accompanying and parallel purpose.

Speaking about the strengthening of the party, I have in mind not only the strengthening of the leading role of the PZPR in the society and the expanding of party ranks, but above all a constant tightening of party ties with the people, constant party action in the direction of the consolidation of the stabilization of sociopolitical life on the plane of an understanding of socialist reforms and fights with the opponent, in keeping with the maxim, "More agreement, more fight." The purpose of the campaign is also the deepening of the positive tendencies in the national economy with simultaneous care for the labor force.

During the campaign, we will evaluate the realization up to this time of the Ninth PZPR Congress program. But not only this. The meetings and conferences will evaluate likewise the execution of their own programs and resolutions passed in the pre-congress campaign and in the report campaign. At the meetings and conferences, moreover, programs of action for the new term of office will be passed. One would have liked these programs to have been thought over earlier and made realizable, or in a word, to be realizable, because otherwise they will remain only a record in party documents.

[Question] What is the present numerical state of the Lodz party organization?

[Answer] Over 82,000 people. Many if you take into consideration the conditions in which the party has been operating.

[Question] Are new people joining the party?

[Answer] One should formulate this question differently: Is each person who declares himself ready to join, accepted into the PZPR? In this case, I would answer in such a way: Party organizations today are accepting into their ranks people differently from the past. They accept, while thinking over the fact beforehand, whether the candidate for a party candidate has predispositions for party work. It is not a concern, as one might think, of some kind of "strainer," but a concern of those accepting whether the person declaring his readiness for candidacy will be able to deal with the duties weighing on a party member; whether, for example, he can be active and assume the proper attitude toward good and evil. Party organizations today are simply meeting the criteria which are written in the statute; rejecting "quantity," they care mainly about the quality of party ranks. If we are to say that mistakes teach, those very "number lessons" from the past were of great use to the party.

[Question] What is being done in the Lodz organization to increase the effectiveness of the ideological work of the party?

[Answer] The ideological activity of the party in the realization of the ninth PZPR Congress line must not be separated today from either the tasks of the PZPR in the economic field or from the continuing fight against the opponents of the national reconciliation. After all, the purpose of uniting all the ideological work of the PZPR--and this was discussed, among other things, during the last Central Committee plenum, the 13th--is the achievement of a concordance of the practice of social life with the ideological rules of socialism. This theme constantly returns and is intensely discussed during meetings of the Lodz Executive Committee.

I would like to use this occasion to bring attention to the conviction still lingering even among active party members that ideological work means schooling. No. Ideological work is not schooling as such, but taking away from schooling convictions which one later develops, uses as a base and voices, which one wants, as a party member, to voice.

People, despite opinions voiced by our opponents, need ideological knowledge. I base this statement, among other things, on the example of stormy discussions, which go on during numerous meetings of full-time active party members in various environments, in the Ideological Commission of the Lodz Committee, in the company of party lecturers, and also among the students of the Lodz Interprovince Party School.

[Question] There is constant talk of the educational role of the party task for a member and candidate of the PZPR. Are party organizations held accountable in this area, or are individual people held accountable?

[Answer] Yes, one constantly talks of the role of the party task, and one talks about it because it is known that if there are no tasks there is no activity. People must have their time occupied between meetings, otherwise their attachment to the PZPR (especially during the period of candidacy) becomes a mere formality. But, by the way, it is fitting to bring to mind that for today's times there must be today's tasks: varied in accordance with environment and conditions, and above all, they should be tasks completely without formalities. And now I will answer the question: Is somebody held accountable? Not everywhere and not consistently. I will say further: In various party organizations assigning people party tasks was "forgotten." And precisely there--this is no coincidence--are party members said to be passive.

[Question] How does the party perfect its style and methods of work?

[Answer] I maintain with full conviction that during this term of office, we did everything to reach people, even those who do not like the party or even hate it. Yes, in the party this style is obligatory: To be as close as possible to people and their everyday matters and to draw all wisdom from this source. The party tries to quickly react to each evil, to pull it out by the roots, to destroy every manifestation of arrogance in leadership. If the party takes into its hands some matter, let us say a human matter, it tries to settle it to the end, to settle it positively. But if negatively, they try to give a clear answer with a credible argument why it could not be settled. The party, despite unpleasant experiences from the past, devotes a great amount of time to work serving reconciliation between people, reconciliation with respect for human opinions, and also with a mind toward order in their own house.

During the report-election campaign an unusually large place was devoted to the evaluation of the execution of our own programs and resolutions. The way in which we account for our activities, before not only the members of the PZPR but also before the whole society, will determine the authority of the party. But I will take this occasion to bring to mind that party work is not only the realization of party resolutions but also undertaking matters that are constantly brought forth by life. The more people today and in the future will want to work with the party, the closer we will be to positive results.

## Gdansk Campaign Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by (mag): "From the Meeting of the PZPR KW Executive in Gdansk: The Party Is Strengthening the Line of Understanding; the PZPR Province Report Campaign; Sociopolitical and Economic Situation in Marine Enterprises"]

[Text] Yesterday's deliberations of the PZPR KW [Province Committee] Executive in Gdansk were devoted to these very problems. The significant participation of PZPR members in the organization and activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which in Gdansk Province may show evidence of significant achievements in building platforms of cooperation and in awakening worthy social initiatives, was stressed. As was emphasized, however, the position of PRON links in factories, where it will be necessary to clearly define their program of action and jurisdiction in relation to sociopolitical factory organizations, self-governments and labor unions, requires strengthening.

The executive also got acquainted with the preparations for the upcoming meeting of the provincial administrative echelons, which will be devoted to the discussion of tasks resulting from the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. From 26 through 28 October, at party workplaces, consultations concerning materials prepared for the plenum will be held by city and district administrative echelons.

A plan of procedure for the report-election campaign in party organizations and administrative echelons of Gdansk Province was presented and passed. It is foreseen that by 20 November of this month, report-election meetings in departmental and basic PZPR organizations will be finished; on 1 December, gmina and factory conferences are supposed to take place and by 22 December, city-gmina, gmina and district conferences.

A lot of time was devoted in the discussion to talking over the difficult economic situation of three key marine enterprises of the province: Komuna Paryska Shipyard, Lenin Shipyard and the Polish Ocean Lines [PLO] in Gdynia. The reasons for this unprofitable situation, requiring several billion in bank credits, are complex. Besides external elements, such as the lack of conformity of the specifics of the ship industry to the requirements of the reform of the current regression in world shipping, negative internal conditions in the shipyards are also appearing; a deep deficit, amounting to 30 percent, of the work force, is appearing together with a discrepancy between the value of contracts made in previous years and the present costs of building ships, which have increased due to the increase in the price of materials and the workers pay. The PLO, however, are struggling with problems of decapitalization of tonnage and difficulties in gaining cargo; therefore, they are forced to give up obsolete, unprofitable units, which is also connected with the necessity of proper rationalization of employment.

Summing up the conclusions submitted on this matter, it was stated that next to concrete system solutions (such as, for example, the modification of the assumptions of the reform in relation to marine enterprises proposed by the interdepartmental commission) paying more attention to internal possibilities of improving the management in these enterprises is indispensable. The question is, among other things, a better adaptation of the organizational structure of these enterprises to present conditions, increasing the motivational action of the pay system, better organization and work discipline. The conclusions submitted in the discussion during yesterday's meeting will be taken into consideration while working out the resolutions of the executive which will define the tasks of party organizations and the management of marine enterprises in overcoming economic difficulties. It is a general truth, it was emphasized, that economic problems define, in fact, the sociopolitical situation in an enterprise, and the manner of their being solved by the management and active party members influences the atmosphere of work in the factory.

At yesterday's meeting, the executive became acquainted with information concerning the sociopolitical situation in the Lenin Shipyard of Gdansk prepared by the interdepartmental KW group. The quality of intraparty and ideological-educational work, staff policy, and socioeconomic activity was discussed. In the evaluation of the work of the factory administrative echelons, the fact of the insufficient interest in the internal problems of the enterprise, low quality of educational work, and lack of consistency in realizing the undertaken resolutions and party proposals were emphasized.

Regarding the administration, however, a reproach for the technocratic-autocratic style of administration together with the ineffectiveness in solving economic difficulties was formulated. The KW Executive passed a number of proposals intended to improve this situation, which will be presented to the political and administrative management of the shipyard.

12432

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

## Gdansk Party Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] A meeting of the party political aktiv was held yesterday in which Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] took part. Mieczyslaw Chabowski, KW secretary and Brig Gen Jerzy Andrzejewski, member of the KW Executive Board and chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs, participated in the meeting. Secretaries of plant and university PZPR committees, heads of regional centers for party work and political workers of the PZPR KW came to the meeting.

Tasks of party organizations resulting from the present political and socio-economic situation in the province were the subject of the meeting. The situation was presented by KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski. Referring to progressive stabilization of the economy the KW secretary emphasized the need to increase labor efficiency. It is the condition for effective overcoming of the inflation. Lack of correlation between quality, labor efficiency and salaries is a negative phenomenon. Salaries exceeding increases in labor efficiency set inflation mechanisms in motion in the economy.

The participants also acquainted themselves with the share of the private sector in the country's economy. It provides 4 percent of total production, but the excessive wealth of some people who take advantage of the economic difficulties causes negative social feelings. There is room in our country for craftsmen who honestly do their work, but there can be no tolerance for individuals dishonestly gaining excessive profits from the existing economic difficulties.

Much attention was devoted to the tasks of the party organizations before and during the coming report-election campaign at the meeting. The participants were also acquainted with the preparations for the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

During the discussion which followed the speech of KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski, participants spoke of the situation in their plants and institutions, attitudes of the workers and the development of the trade union movement. Important problems of party work and questions related to plant self-governments were also discussed.



At the end of the meeting the floor was taken by Stanislaw Bejger, KW first secretary. He answered the questions asked by the audience during the discussion. He also expressed his views on the problems mentioned by the participants of the meeting and discussed the most important tasks of party organizations connected with the coming report-election campaign in the PZPR.

#### Importance of Socialist Indoctrination

Olsztyn GAZETA OSZTYNSKA in Polish 25 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by E. Burzynska-Miszczak]

[Text] A joint session of the PZPR KM [City Committee] and the "Oswiata" [Education] Community Committee, devoted to the subject: "The Socialist School as a Basic Element in the System of National Education" was held in Olsztyn on Saturday. Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] took part in the session.

Questions of education, upbringing and ideological-educational work with youth are among the most important social problems of our country. The concept of educational reform, propagated not long ago, has failed. However, the need to make changes in the educational system still exists. What, then, should this system be like? The answer seems simple: such that will make possible the education of good professionals and valuable citizens.

"Various organizational units deal with the education of young people in our society," stated Stefan Strumillo, first secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Olsztyn. "There is no connection between the activity of these units, however, which means that each of them carries out educational work in its own way and with its own needs in view. The ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union], which is most active in plants, plays the leading role among the youth organizations. The ZHP [Polish Scout Union], on the other hand, cannot come out of stagnation and is actually invisible in Olsztyn, except for summer activity. Athletic clubs and organizations are going through a deep crisis and their influence is restricted to smaller and smaller groups of youth. This phenomenon cannot be explained merely by the lack of athletic complexes or equipment. It seems that mainly there is no will or innovative ideas among sports activists, whose number is, unfortunately, decreasing. The Warmia-Mazury Aeroclub maintains an unusually valuable activity in the city. We are surprised, however, that while the population of the city has doubled, the number of modeling workshops almost parallelly decreased twice. Signals are also reaching us that the initiatives of the Aeroclub concerning cooperation with plants are not reciprocated.

"Olsztyn presents itself well from the point of view of cultural activity," continued the speaker. "Unfortunately, our influence in this sphere of life is insignificant. The TKKS [Society for Promotion of Secular Culture] has problems reaching the school youth. The small aktiv that has undertaken to spread the materialistic point of view is not capable of gaining access to schools. Schools, however, apart from few exceptions, are not capable of, or do not want to, give assistance. The secular character of the school is written in the constitution,

but it practically means the secular character of the building, for we cannot speak of secular education of our youth. We are not calling here for interference in the personal affairs of the citizens, but it is our duty to create the possibility of choice for the young.

"The influence of schools as centers of social, political, including also party, life in housing settlements is too small," said S. Strumillo. "Most of our OKON [District Committee for National Rebirth] and later PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] elements were created by schools. Unfortunately this connection concerns more the school premises and involves the school community only to a small degree. We would like to initiate a social movement for the benefit of schools, encourage production plants and social organizations to cooperate with them. Parents can and should play a considerable role in this matter. The interest of parents in school has been insignificant so far, however.

"Another problem is the high birth rate in our country. This will cause new problems, mainly connected with school construction projects in the near future. The district of Jaroty has the population of 18,000 now and only one school. Before another one is built, 25,000 people will be living there. The construction of the second school is delayed already and it is not known who should be blamed for this. I would also like to use this occasion to express my gratitude to the management of the OPBP [Olsztyn Industrial Construction Enterprise] for accepting the job of building this school. Social patronage should be adopted for this construction. The situation is similar and may be even more difficult in the Dajtki settlement, where the school will not be built before 1986 and a lot of effort will be necessary to make even this date realistic."

The speech delivered by the representative of the "Education" Community Committee, Krystyna Jaworowska, supplemented the speech of the KM first secretary.

"The tasks before the Polish school, teachers and pupils are very complex. There is a long list of them. If, however, the teacher is to fulfill these tasks, he must have influence over young people, gain their interest, sympathy and respect by his social and personal attitude. But the teaching profession has never been in high esteem, especially as regards salaries, and at present the pupils pay attention to this, too. The teacher must be appreciated and respected. Otherwise he cannot educate effectively. This is also connected with the proper choice of candidates for educational studies. It is most often accidental today, although these should be the best possible people."

"Schools and educational units are in the course of preparing educational programs," said K. Jaworowska. "These programs will undoubtedly help teachers in their work. But the most important problems are the organizational and material conditions of the school. And these are disastrous and promise to be even worse. At present, there are 1,600 pupils in grade 8 in Olsztyn and 2,500 pupils in grade 1. New housing settlements are real educational deserts. In 3 years time it will be necessary to remove nursery schools from school buildings and thus the situation in nursery schools will become much worse. The conditions of work of primary and secondary schools will also deteriorate when the wave of the demographic high reaches them. The most difficult situation is in primary schools 22, 24 and now 25. The conditions for learning are especially bad in

this last school. The huge number of children attending this school makes the child anonymous and, consequently, the educational process actually stops. The perspectives for improving the conditions of teaching in the Nagorki or Dajtki settlements are not good. We have very good plans, but their implementation is much worse. And the education of youth does not end in the primary school. Secondary schools educate approximately 12,000 young people in 17 units of various type in Olsztyn today. Only schools of general education have a good basis. All vocational schools, on the other hand, work in two shifts. There are too few dormitories. And what do we find in the plans for the future! Nothing! Only the Complex of Economic and Trade Schools will improve the working conditions (until now classes have been held in a barrack), since it has received allowances from the plants for which it teaches prospective employees."

Much time was devoted to teachers during the discussion. There are no serious problems with the cadres in our city and province--they are educated mainly by the Olsztyn WSP [Educational College]. The problem is not always in quantity, however. The teacher should be an example for the pupil due to both this extensive knowledge and attitude toward everyday life. The words and deeds of teachers should always agree. Words that are not reflected in action lead to opposite results. And young people are careful observers and notice all the contradictions. Teachers should also be in close contact with the parents. It is not enough to inform the parents on how their child behaves, what its grades are, it is also necessary to influence their social and political awareness.

Also the material conditions of teachers' life were discussed. There were complaints about the lack of apartments and low salaries. "The teacher's authority is also based on money," said Lucyna Siemionek, member of the PZPR KM. "The pupils come to school dressed up and the teacher looks like a grey mouse beside them. Is it normal for a tenured professor to start growing strawberries in order to maintain the family? We cannot deny money for education, because our society will reflect what its teachers are.

"More and more often do we hear about young drug addicts and alcoholics in our province and in the whole country, youngsters play truant and even commit crimes. This group is constantly growing. We have more and more drug addicts in schools, the number of juvenile delinquents is growing alarmingly (according to data from RUSW [expansion unknown] there are 2,500 of them in Olsztyn. Why is this happening? Various answers were given to this question. Among other things, it was said that the school and optional programs offered by it must be unattractive. The activity of youth organizations has weakened. The ZSMP is the most active organization now, but even its influence, mainly in schools, is too small. The scouting organization has always been most popular among children and teenagers of school age. What has happened to it? The ZHP is now in disarray." Zbigniew Miesojed, commandant of the Rodlo regiment of the ZHP in Olsztyn tried to answer the question: Why? "The slogan: 'Our goal--an organization of 2 million members' was coined during the Third General Congress in 1964. The organization was indeed growing, but so were problems with instructors. Education helped. Headmasters were evaluated according to the number of scouts in their schools, they designated teachers to be section leaders. We are going away from these principles now and this may be the cause

of the impasse. We lack genuine, passionate people, who would like to devote their free time. Also the instructors' circle at the WSP, which has always been the source of cadres for the ZHP, has disintegrated."

The president of the WSP, Jan Sikora admitted that the instructors' circle exists only formally at the WSP and is very small. Hence the authorities of the WSP have decided to make the subject "Methodology of Scout Work" obligatory for all students.

Insufficient health care for children was also mentioned, as well as the lack of pediatricians, child dispensaries. It was said that there is no systematic physician care in nursery schools and in secondary schools.

The session ended with a speech by Jan Laskowski, PZPR KW first secretary: "Where is this indolence of society coming from? We complain and lament even though the situation has improved a lot as compared with the years 1981-1982. The number of places in nursery schools has increased by 2,000 in the years 1981-1983 in Olsztyn and nobody noticed it. There has never been such speedy growth in this field--even in the best times. We have completed two new schools and several other buildings designated for schools, 23 sewage treatment plants are being built in the province. This has never happened before. So, let us not complain. Not only Olsztyn education is in a difficult situation. This problem is shared by a number of other cities in the province and in the whole country. If we count only on the state budget, we will never have a sufficient number of educational buildings. It is simply necessary to find some form of social involvement. We count on the assistance of enterprises and other institutions. Tasks must be given to everybody. Let us look at Biskupiec, for instance. The city of 7,000 inhabitants is building a nursery school using the funds provided by local enterprises. Olsztyn has many more inhabitants and enterprises. Maybe it is worth taking the example."

#### Szczecin Trade Improvements Meeting

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 27 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wys)]

[Text] A subsequent meeting of the Commission of Trade and Services was held yesterday at the PZPR Provincial Committee. Apart from members of the commission, which was headed by Joanna Grzesiak, director of the Department of Trade and Services of the Provincial Council in Szczecin, H. Jankowski participated in the meeting. The leading subject was supplies for the city and province during the fourth quarter of the current year.

It is known that the fourth quarter of the year is an especially difficult time for trade, because Christmas holidays and New Year's Eve are celebrated in this period. Trade already has a program of supplies. Generally speaking, this quarter and December should be on the level of last year.

The situation in the meat market is most difficult. It was decided that the December ration cards will be realized half in meat and half in sausage. The producers have been obliged to prepare typically Christmas products (hams, smoked hams, sirloins) and there must be enough of these delicatessen articles--at least 20 dekagrams per person. Moreover, the production of processed foods will be increased. There should also be considerable amounts of meats sold without ration cards (mutton, game meat). The MHWiU [Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services] also intends to repeat the situation of September, when it was possible to buy chicken instead of the same amount of beef with bones.

There will also be larger quantities of coffee, tea, pepper and laurel leaves in food stores. According to the report of Director H. Jankowski, no problems are anticipated with the supplies of carp, "Iwasi" herrings and eggs.

However, there will be a considerable shortage of some industrial articles, especially in the field of men's personal linen and outer garments for men and women. The situation with coke looks bad.

The commission also acquainted itself with the positive evaluation of the Szczecin trade made by Minister Z. Lakomic. However, the members of the commission also drew attention to the negative phenomena in the organization and functioning of trading units. The negative opinions concerned commission shops.

#### Zielona Gora Ideological Meeting

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by ZG-DF]

[Text] A field trip meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Zielona Gora was held in the Zagan Palace of Culture yesterday. The subject of the meeting was participation of culture in creating and implementing the ideological program of the party.

Among the guests were: Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and actress Emilia Krakowska, deputy president of the National Cultural Council, as well as those who deal with creating and spreading culture every day--heads of the social party teams of the PZPR Central Committee for writers, fine arts, moviemakers, librarians and theater employees. We do not mention their names, for which we apologize, but we are concerned with problems today and not only with naming people who deserve social recognition for their work. All the representatives of creative and artistic communities and of the amateur movement from the province participated in the plenum, as well as representatives of youth, professional and self-government organizations which have a statute obligation to promote cultural life.

The meeting was headed by Jerzy Dabrowski, PZPR KW first secretary: "The aim of our meeting, in which representatives of creative communities and cultural activists participate in such large numbers," he said among other things, "is to formulate specific tasks resulting from the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the

PZPR Central Committee, to outline the paths of improving cultural and artistic life and of creating conditions for even more universal participation of the inhabitants in the social cultural movement. Culture used to be the binding force behind social ties in our land and it may serve the purpose of building bridges of reconciliation, shaping active citizens' attitudes, satisfying the intellectual needs of the inhabitants to an even fuller degree today."

The speech of the KW Executive Board was presented by Zygmunt Stabrowski, KW secretary. It did not contain typical prescriptions for shaping socialist culture, but a number of questions were addressed to the participants of the meeting: What should be done for culture to integrate the society, serve the development of socialist patriotism of the people, make our life more interesting and wiser, stimulate the aspirations and interests of young people in national achievements and their will to contribute something of their own?

"As it was emphasized so strongly at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, the line of reconciliation, struggle and reforms is and will be evident in culture, in which points of view, various arguments and attitudes, as well as different values, clash. The party is undertaking here an ideological struggle in defense of the negated or questioned achievements of People's Poland, is arguing against attempts to divide national culture according to group, community or regional criteria, is counteracting any activity weakening the creative involvement of the society.

"The phenomena of cultural life cannot be separated from contemporary political and economic reality. Zielona Gora Province, whose achievements are an inseparable part of the cultural achievements and advancements of the whole country, is a good example of this. The so-called Lubuski cultural experiment, based on the social effort was known, appreciated and propagated. It was a success. Our solutions in the fields of librarianship and reading organization were adopted as models and we are implementing new solutions in museums. The Zielona Gora artistic initiatives in popularizing new music, fine arts and folklore are widely known. Thus the social and state patronage of cultural life has been a success. Nobody can take these achievements from us.

"The problem of decreasing disproportions in the development of cultural life between cities and villages, cities and communes, and between social groups remains important. Access to cultural commodities is not universal yet. We have great needs in the fields of material basis, equipment and cadres. There are cultural centers, GOKs [Commune Cultural Center] working badly and inoperative common rooms and clubs. Material shortages are not always the cause. Some amateur groups have either deteriorated or ceased activity altogether. But despite the crisis, there are no restrictions on cultural activity. The state has not decreased the means earmarked for the development of culture. The field of cultural activity is still wide and open. Those who are willing and active should receive all the necessary assistance. It should be provided by political, as well as by social and professional organizations. The social and state patronage of culture should be strengthened. We cannot place cultural needs at the very end of the list of social needs, and this happens in some enterprises. Such activity is the result of faulty understanding of the principles of the economic reform.

"We see that party and youth organizations, as well as managements of enterprises and institutions and the reviving trade union movement devote too little attention to the needs of culture. This must change in our common interest. It is necessary

to look for both new, volatile and acceptable forms of expressing socialist culture and for possibilities of fuller satisfaction of the material needs of artistic communities. Patronage of culture is the social obligation and duty of the managements of individual plants toward their employees. The amateur movement deserves special protection and it also has special needs. It is necessary to create the conditions for involvement in cultural life for the people."

The KW secretary provided a number of examples of new cultural initiatives of creative communities, including, among other things, the establishments of a publishing house, development of artistic education and cultural centers for children and teenagers. They have the full support of the party. We must return to brilliance in the social cultural movement. Acknowledged mass events should be given higher rank and new forms of expression.

Z. Stabrowski concluded by saying: "The inspirational role of party organizations in creative communities, as well as in cultural institutions and centers is growing. It requires from us all responsibility for the ideological life of creative and cultural communities, for their everyday ties with the communities of workers, peasants and young people, as well as for their ties with the social cultural movement.

Next the floor was taken by the governor of Zielona Gora, Col Walerian Mikolajczyk who, among other things, devoted his speech to the idea of socializing culture. It has a rich tradition in the Lubuska Land, which was created during the postwar years of reconstruction and later, when professional artistic and cultural institutions grew from the social cultural movement. Social participation in the creation of culture was disturbed in the 1970's, among other things, due to changes in the administrative structure, which disturbed ties that had been shaping for years, and due to the new, consumption-oriented model of life developing at that time.

Further development of culture requires wider social participation in this process than before, including enterprises, institutions and cooperative organizations.

The governor also spoke about the most important tasks in the field of culture for the next few years. These include, among other things: increasing the participation of children, teenagers and workers' communities in culture by widening the program offers to artistic institutions and centers for spreading culture, safeguarding the best possible conditions for the creative communities as an expression of concern for the development of the artistic culture of the region.

Fourteen people took part in the discussion. Jerzy Czapski from the Center of Youth Culture in Zary spoke of the conditions of functioning of youth culture, referring to the experiences of the Zary center. It was born with great pains, with considerable involvement of young people, who repaired the building and decided how to enliven it. It turned out, however, that it was easier to carry out work, the value of which was estimated at approximately 1 million zlotys, than to solve the problem of buying a tape recorder or some other indispensable equipment necessary for everyday work.

The status of the center has not been decided yet, which is also causing a number of problems in everyday activity.

Szymon Kawalla, director of the Zielona Gora Philharmonic, spoke of the activity of this institution connected with propagating music. The workers' community is a white spot in this activity. Director Kawalla came forth with the initiative to organize concerts in enterprises.

Irena Burzawa-Lesna from the MGOK [City-Commune Cultural Center] in Iłowa Zagnanska discussed the causes of the shortage of professional workers in smaller cultural centers, like the one in Iłowa. Graduates of cultural education are discouraged not only by low salaries (the average salary of the cultural workers in Iłowa is 6,700 zloyts), but also by the conditions of work, which cannot be improved because of the irregular situation of the Iłowa MGOK, functioning according to the principles of an interorganizational center (we wrote about it more extensively in GAZETA LUBUSKA recently).

Włodzimierz Kwasniewicz, first secretary of the POP [Primary Party Organization] in the Lubuska Land Museum, managing the Military Museum in Drzonow, spoke of the importance of museums in the cultural policy and patriotic education of the society. Four museums were established during the last few years in Zielona Gora and vicinity and a fifth one will be completed soon. The speaker said that these museums cannot be warehouses of history; they have an important, though still not appreciated, role to fulfill in shaping national awareness.

During the discussion, Tomasz Brzezinski, manager of the Zielona Gora Puppet Stage, put forth a motion to give full autonomy to this stage. It fulfills a very important function in educating the youngest, but having worked for many years in the shade of its adult brother, i.e., the drama, it is not capable of living up to needs and ambitions.

Krystyna Stachow from the COK [Commune Cultural Center] in Niegoslawice spoke about the role of culture and cultural education of children and teenagers in the countryside, referring to experiences from her own work. Cultural workers in the countryside need considerable penetrating force to fight effectively for the interests of culture, which compete with "more important" problems of agriculture and production. Without the assistance of allies--enterprises and youth organizations--a cultural center is usually doomed to fail in such competition. In Niegoslawice, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] is such an ally.

"The aim of this meeting," said Pawel Buzantowicz, head of the Cultural Commission of the PZPR KW, "is a political integration of cultural communities. It is time to end the fight for survival and maintaining the present assets in culture; it is time to leave the defensive positions and attack. The bill on territorial self-government is one of the chances for greater social influence on what is happening and will be happening in culture."

Janusz Koniusz, the editor in chief of NADODRZE, attempted a short survey of the past years in culture. Beside those fields of culture which left the crisis least harmed (museums, music), there are those which suffered painful losses. The sociocultural movement is going through a deep crisis now, trade unions, without which it is difficult to imagine the cultural activity of the working



class, are still hurting. The crisis also touched a number of centers propagating culture, especially in smaller cities and villages. The future fate of culture depends on the rebirth of these elements and on the integration of the creative communities and artistic institutions.

J. Koniusz also spoke about the obligations of Zielona Gora as a culture-creating center for the whole province and about the need to assist cultural practice by science. Finally, after informing the audience about the plans of transforming the bi-weekly NADODRZE into a weekly and creating one more journal in Zielona Gora, he pointed to the need of constructing a new graphic plant.

The speech of Adam Stawczyk, director of the Zagan Palace of Culture, was a voice against mediocrity in culture. Among other things, he spoke about the initiative of the "Palace" creative group and about the role of intelligentsia in the social cultural movement, especially in smaller cities. Smaller centers have a habit of complaining that young educated people leave them and explaining this by the lack of values that could attract them. Also from this point of view, Zagan is not a typical city. When a meeting with young teachers was organized in September, more than a dozen natives of Zagan who returned to their home city after completing studies were found in the group and one may expect that they will decide about the face of Zagan in the future.

Andrzej Czarkowski, president of the Society of Friends of Zielona Gora, discussed the causes of the crisis which the sociocultural movement is undergoing. The speaker said: "Too often the fate of many social initiatives depends on the will of bookkeepers and clerks to let the social movement regain its due rank."

A. Czarkowski spoke with anxiety about the phenomena of migration of artists and intelligentsia observed since the end of the 1960's and growing. At the beginning of the 1960's Zielona Gora was still among the most attractive medium-size cities in the country and was capable of drawing people from outside. Slow depreciation of Zielona Gora as a more than regional cultural center occurred. This process should be decisively counteracted.

Grzegorz Chmielewski, director of the WiMBP [Provincial and Municipal Public Library] in Zielona Gora devoted his attention to the problems of books and libraries. The officially proclaimed priority for books and libraries is not always confirmed in practice. Increasing the production of publishing houses, improvement of the quality of books (books bound by glue have a very short life in libraries) and proper regulation of the salaries of library employees are necessary if reading is to be further developed. Approximately 25 percent of employees left libraries all over the country because of low salaries.

The speech of Jan Drozd, worker of the Zagan PKP [Polish State Railways] station, was concerned with the propagation of culture among workers communities.

"Who and how is going to teach the worker to listen to classical music, if he works 300 hours a month and comes home extremely tired? Who will get a good book in a bookstore, when there is a shortage--a worker, or someone who has much more time for it? Where are the books from which our children are to get acquainted with the best literature? Why are the shelves piled with books which nobody buys and must be reduced in price every now and then, instead of books sought for? Who can afford concerts of pop groups when the tickets cost 320 zlotys?" These were some of a number of questions asked by the speaker.

Zdzislaw Gruberski, director of the Provincial Cultural Center spoke, among other things, about the cultural activity in workers communities. It is the duty of each center to maintain close contacts with enterprises. But cultural workers must have partners in these contacts. Party organizations, trade unions and youth organizations can play an important role in this sphere of activity.

Jan Muszynski, director of the Lubuska Land Museum, appealed to propagate the idea of creating galleries of contemporary artists in museums all over the country. The artists do not want to create for warehouses and some valuable pieces of art are sent abroad. There are seven author's galleries in the Zielona Gora museum. According to the speaker, there are possibilities of creating similar galleries in other museums.

Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, also took the floor. Referring to many voices in the discussion, he explained the main trends of the cultural policy of the party resulting from the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee and he emphasized that it is a far-reaching policy, but it does not lose contact with everyday necessities.

The secretary of the Central Committee agreed with the anxiety expressed by those speakers who spoke about the shortcomings of the cultural basis. He emphasized, however, that there are shortcomings to be improved not only in this field, for the state also has to make up for the shortcomings in the health service and education. The problem is to work on these things systematically, according to possibilities and in harmony. Similar policies should be adopted both in educating cadres for culture, which needs good professionals badly, and the health service and education which also need them.

Ten KW members and guests lent their voices to the discussion for the protocol. The remarks and motions they contain will be used in the normal work of the provincial and local echelons.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the activity of party elements in the sphere of culture, taking into consideration numerous motions and propositions put forth during the discussion. We will acquaint the readers with its content in the nearest future.

To end the meeting, Jerzy Dabrowski, KW first secretary, gave a short summary of the plenum, which was rich in motions concerning practical work of the party and administration, and he emphasized that whatever is realistic will be utilized in the normal activity of the administration.

Finally, Zbigniew Nieminski, KW secretary, informed the members of the plenum about the course of the report-election campaign which has begun in the party.

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INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES INVESTIGATION PROCESS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 49, 3 Dec 83 p 7

[Interview with Zbigniew Pudysz, director of investigations bureau in the Ministry of Internal Affairs by Stanislaw Podemski and Witold Pawlowski: "Underground and Aboveground."]

[Text] POLITYKA: Colonel, let's get down to business right away. The public is closely and critically watching investigations underway, including those (or maybe in particular those) conducted by the bureau which you head. Juridical literature is critical of investigation practices. The June 1983 issue of the prestigious Polish Academy of Sciences juridical monthly PANSTWO I PRAWO published an article by Professor Stanislaw Waltos of Cracow University who sharply criticizes the practice of submitting suspects to repeated questioning. In one case, a suspect was brought to no fewer than 40 interrogations.

Pudysz: You must excuse me, for I don't know the details of this case. With due respect to Professor Waltos, in my view multiple interrogations should be conducted whenever justified. This principle need not be interpreted as conducive to the suspect's moral or physical exhaustion. Does such a necessity emerge sometimes? Certainly. I remember such cases from my own long experience. Those suspected of killing writer and politician Jan Gerhard were each presented with 24 charges, and this automatically meant at least 24 interrogations by a prosecutor (as stipulated by the Code of Criminal Procedure), later to be continued by a militia officer in charge of the investigations. It is possible there were even more than a hundred of such interrogations. The court which heard this case later expressed its great appreciation for the investigators' good work, and this opinion was passed on to me. But there is more to this. Repeated interrogations may be necessary not only as a requirement specified in the Code of Criminal Procedure. This is also recommended practice by criminologists, especially in the area of interrogatory psychology. The purpose is to establish facts in accordance with reality. You can hear candid explanations which will be untrue, as well as mendacious and yet true statements. This becomes a very grave problem when such (untrue) statements may harm other people's interests. Criminal procedure further makes it mandatory for investigators to collect information on the suspect's personal life. In some crimes, say in espionage, a suspect himself is often the chief source of information and his testimony is then obviously used as evidence. During investigations, you also collect information useful in preventive measures. Interrogations of

suspects or witnesses, especially in cases of economic offenses, may furnish information on serious irregularities in a firm's operations. The actual course of an interrogation is easy to reconstruct. In many cases, interrogations are taped. Such recordings can picturesquely present the atmosphere and conditions of a given interrogation. Minutes of interrogations specify the exact time of beginning and ending questioning, and even annotations about pauses.

Q.: But suspects sometimes change their testimonies before a court when asked why they mention illegitimate interrogation procedures.

A.: When there is no other, reasonable and credible explanation of why one changes one's testimony, the easiest thing to do is say that illegitimate methods were applied, especially in front of a courtroom crowd. Besides, some centers in the West claim any investigation by the [Polish] Security Service is unlawful. But this is quite a different problem.

Q.: PALESTRA, a monthly for barristers, has twice carried reports that persons being questioned and the interrogating officers sometimes strike immoral "deals" of the sort--"Listen, you're gonna say everything, and we'll take this into account in the verdict." This more or less is what they amount to.

A.: If I remember right, PALESTRA'S charges were only general, without citing any facts. I wonder where such conjectures come from? I say conjectures, because that's all you can say when you have no facts. The Criminal Code provides for what is called "active repentance" to give a culprit a chance. If, say, he voluntarily stops his criminal activity and reports significant circumstances of his criminal deed to competent authorities (Article 125 of the Criminal Code), then a court may apply extraordinary leniency in punishment. A similar situation may arise in cases tried on the basis of Article 243, on bribery, which obliges the investigating officer to acquaint the suspect with this provision and tell him about benefits the suspect may draw from it.

In a word, it is not interrogators, but legislators who permit such "deals," namely you tell the truth and your punishment will be mitigated.

Q.: And yet it is hard to withstand the impression that investigations would benefit, and the reputation of investigating agencies improve, if suspects would be allowed to have legal counsel right from the first moment. A draft proposal in this respect which the Justice Ministry worked out on the basis of a great number of expert opinions includes several possible devices. Unfortunately, work on this subject has been deadlocked for 2 years now.

A.: If for no other than for technical reasons, it is impossible to ensure a solicitor's presence during a suspect's first contacts with investigating officers. I do, however, share the view that a great deal has to be changed in existing procedures. By the way, work on amending these procedures is about to resume. I am on the codifying panel myself, and we are to draw up amendments. But, you should ask solicitors if they want to attend investigations. I have evidence they are not interested in this. The most they want to achieve in this phase is to get an arrest decision reversed, if arrest was indeed decided (incidentally, solicitors

usually repeat dry, schematic formulas in their applications for this), or to get a private meeting with their arrested clients. Arguments for a plea of "not guilty" or evidence undermining charges are kept for later, when the case is heard in court.

Q.: This is so because the model of investigation and of authority-defense relations has been established in this form for several decades now.

A.: In my view, the presence of an attorney at preliminary proceedings is a more involved problem than you may think on the basis of comparing pertinent regulations in force in various countries. Take, for example, the problem of preparing a given attorney for participating in these proceedings (for, you cannot insist this presence should be purely formalistic). Does the current training program for future attorneys fill this requirement? Judging from criminal cases investigated by my Bureau, I could put forward many demands concerning the training of prospective legal counsels.

We at the bureau want attorneys to attend preliminary proceedings, and we are saying this openly even now, when changes in proceedings are still a matter for the future.

For example, we invite defense counsels to attend interrogations of foreigners as witnesses in foreign-trade offenses. Why? Do you think it's a nice feeling to see your case crumble during trial only because you didn't know what the defense knew before you? Who would want such a thing? Not us. Remember that court proceedings mercilessly lay bare all weaknesses or gaps in the prosecution's case. Courts are relentlessly critical of any such flaws, and we have learned this very well.

Q.: Let's change the subject. Nearly 700 persons reported to the authorities. This figure is well-known to the public. Yet the fact is that underground leaders such as [Zbigniew] Bujak or [Bogdan] Lis haven't availed themselves of this opportunity. So, the Pron proposal to defer the deadline for reporting one's offenses may also be interpreted as evidence of the amnesty bid's failure. Let's be really frank--would you say the proposal to come out was accepted or rejected?

A.: During the last days of October, many persons reported to the authorities because those involved waited to make such a difficult decision until the end. After all, such a decision makes you resist indications and pressures from [underground] leaders and break your clandestine solidarity. The situation was further complicated by numerous cases of people turning themselves in after 31 October because, technically, the amnesty law had expired on that day. the Pron initiative, which was taken up by the Sejm, is designed to sanction legally even those later instances of people turning themselves in in November. We want internal conflicts solved by conciliatory means, which should not be mistaken for a sign of the authorities' weakness. What have we noticed since martial law was lifted and the amnesty law proclaimed? Proceedings instituted to investigate politically-motivated offenses have dropped significantly in number. Leaflets, anti-state publications or graffiti on walls have become more rare, and street demonstrations have had less attendance. As we see it,

the underground has been losing its support in society, and gradually also its plotting ardor and its belief conspiratorial activity has any sense at all. True, Bujak or Lis haven't come out, but Wladyslaw Hardek, who was a member of the Provisional National Commission, W. Bartczak and L. Biegalski have; all three used to hold high posts as regional leaders (Malopolska, Central-Eastern, Pojezierze).

If the deadline for turning oneself in is further deferred, it may so happen that the "generals" alone will remain in the underground, without officers, soldiers, staff or auxiliary personnel.

Q.: There are rumors that you have found neither Lis nor Bujak only because you didn't want to.

A.: I am not concerned with rumors. You will certainly understand that when drafting the amnesty law, nobody expected this to make Bujak or other prominent leaders of the so-called underground turn themselves in, although such a possibility mustn't be ruled out either. They presumably hope once again to play some political role in a propitious situation. They probably will not.

Q.: How many people are now in hiding and how many are engaged in underground activities, would you say?

A.: I'm familiar with cursory opinions on this. In most cases, people grossly overrate their numbers. Many myths are circulated. Let me say above all that, according to our ministry's estimates, cases of people reporting their offenses were in no way few. I am aware of no sensible arguments in support of the opposite claim. A certain group of people has, of course, remained in the underground. Beside it, there is a larger group of people who help the conspirators, most often only loosely. These are people with normal family and professional lives. Somebody may allow his apartment to be used for an illegal meeting, someone else may write the text for a leaflet or distribute it. Analyses carried out by our bureau have shown that those who turn themselves in are predominantly young people, who do not always have great experience in life, and occasionally are easily influenced. But, you also have some who engage in illegal actions apparently political in nature, but which are ultimately designed to bring in money. Recently, for instance, two printers were arrested who used state-owned paper and state-owned printing facilities to produce illegal books. During a search of one of their apartments, several hundred thousand zloty gained in this way was impounded.

Q.: The most difficult and greatest political and economic cases end up here in this room, which has only two safes, two doors, a set of juridical books, a few pieces of furniture and several souvenirs--a room like that of any average enterprise director.

A.: Indeed. The Internal Affairs Ministry's Investigation Bureau functions above all to prosecute offenses against fundamental political and economic state interests. It also controls and coordinates the work of local Security Service units. Whether or not a specific case ends up on this desk depends on different factors--first, its importance and intricacy, but also the measure of

public danger it presents or, when it concerns foreign trade, when it has an international dimension. Also, as a rule we are conducting investigations in cases of functionaries at other central agencies when they violate the law.

Q.: Colonel, for the past months, the former domain of your interest, namely political matters, captured public attention. Now that--as we have just heard--there are fewer and fewer such matters, the general picture of law observance in Poland--in its aboveground part--is becoming clear. It's a sad picture, wouldn't you say? Two examples of everyday life will do--the number of burglaries in apartments and car thefts have been on the rise. Also, more and more often you can read about big-caliber affairs (or is this only because such affairs are more readily mentioned by the press?). So, you can hear grumblings that since you have focused on the underground you paid less attention to what is going on "aboveground." And, critics say, there you are with the consequences.

A.: I agree that criminality is an alarming development, especially crimes against life, health or property, or offenses involving property waste or destruction. These sorts of crimes, which occasionally are drastic violations of the legal order, are also directly and painfully aimed against citizens' interests and may make some people criticize the law enforcement apparatus. Although this sort of criminality is not always the Security Services responsibility to prosecute, I wish to stress that these problems have been analyzed by competent Internal Affairs Ministry agencies and that necessary actions and recommendations to apply all indispensable means have been instituted. I cannot share your opinion, however, that our focusing on crimes committed for political reasons has weakened our activities in other areas. With understandable perseverance we have been prosecuting agents of foreign intelligence agencies, economic frauds and other perpetrators of crimes. Losses to the national economy incurred by perpetrators of economic offenses investigated by this bureau alone amounted in 1982 and 1983 to a total of more than 40 billion zloty! Security Service investigative agencies were, during this period, engaged in more than 250 proceedings, but please realize that our service commits itself only to cases with exceptionally high degrees of public interest violation. After 1980, social discipline was very lax, and respect for the law was very poor. The rising crime rate has been conditioned by many factors, the most important of which is the economic crisis together with concomitant social ills.

What we have recorded this year indicates at least that the crime rate has stopped going up. We attribute part of this to our own actions. We are interested both in crime mechanisms and social conditions of criminality, as well as in remedial measures and crime prevention. When acting on the basis of penal regulations, we realize that penalties may only restrict the scope of these adverse phenomena. This is why we attach particularly great importance to preventive measures. These most often take the form of written reports signaling all kinds of irregularities and addressed to central political and economic administration agencies.

Q.: Do your reports have the desired consequences?

A.: They do. We have even carried out a special study to see if they do. But the decrease in the rate of any particular kind of crime is the best evidence

of such reports being effective. Based on investigations, say of railroad accidents, we could prove, for instance, that rails were in very bad shape so that at one segment screws fastening rails to beddings could be pulled out with two fingers. We pointed this out to the Transportation Ministry, which reacted quickly and properly. The degree and scope of realizing these recommendations was later controlled by an inspection team including interested persons, and considerable improvement has been made. We have also pointed out irregularities which cause fires at industrial plants, again based on the results of investigations. One such cause was a flagrant violation of fire-prevention rules during welding. Yet in this case, our endeavors and initiatives have contributed little so improving the situation, so this problem is still on our agenda.

Q.: Do you, from the vantage point of your position, perhaps view the world in a simplified manner as one composed of thieves and cops alone? Every profession tends to take a somewhat distorted view of the world--a doctor would see everybody as a patient, a reporter would like to detect official incompetence in everything. Does your profession not twist your vision? Don't you tend to regard society as professional oppositionists, do you discern "the dissatisfied but loyal" or "the dissatisfied who keep to the law in force" [from others]?

A.: You're placing us in some unreal world which is governed by personal idiosyncrasies, by your distinctions which I cannot accept. We are concerned with specific persons and specific matters, where everything is comprehensible and the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure are the guidelines. I myself wonder sometimes if professional duties tend to deform your vision? We have at our disposal a body of select information about society which the latter does not have. In our everyday practice we have to deal with sad and sorry affairs rather than with edifying matters. But I always insist we must allow no professional "deformation" to guide our actions. Paradoxically, there are so many levels and modes of verification of our work that few other professions can match us. Our work is verified by the prosecutor, the defendant, his legal counsel and, finally, courts of two instances. We don't regard ourselves as infallible; we are trying hard to make as few mistakes as possible. Specifically, some cases we file with prosecution offices are accepted, others are turned down. It is true, however, that differences of opinion are rare.

Q.: But--we must insist on an answer--do you and your colleagues really have no sense of being isolated?

A.: I assure you we live normal lives like any Polish family with everyday joys and sorrows. It is at home, when talking with our families, that we can compare our views with theirs. We are very strongly interested in getting such opinions, including those which concern the way in which the public watches and judges our work. Let me also say that the party organization at our ministry insists on our employees expanding "outside" contacts, that they more actively join in social work in schools, self-government bodies, etc.

Q.: So, there is a division into "outside" and "inside" after all, isn't there? We are now in an institution which is regarded as a secret institution by the public.



A.: Indeed, some areas of our activity are subject to official-secret regulations, and you can't reasonably say this could be different. The Ministry's Investigation Bureau belongs to special services working within the framework of the Security Service. But, please don't exaggerate our secretiveness. If you watched the TV program on Zdzislaw Najder [Radio Free Europe Polish section director] you saw some of our work shown to the public. We are doing this also with regard to crime prevention. Let me also point out to you that as state administration agencies--or, generally, style of government--has recently been evolving into more openness, our ministry has also committed itself to informing the public about our work and holding meetings with working people at enterprises. I have also taken part in such meetings.

Q.: Which would be the most embarrassing question to you?

A.: There are no embarrassing questions at all! Perhaps one is astounded at the vehemence with which some people repeat certain unwarranted clinches at such meetings. What do people want to know from us? I remember one such meeting at the Ursus tractor factory when the Jan Narozniak affair broke out [late in 1980] and when, upon his arrest, a strike was about to start at the factory. People asked me why we were so late in arriving, and told us that Mr [Adam] Michnik had been there several times before to present his version of the affair. After martial law was proclaimed, people wanted to know on what legal grounds that decision had been made, why people were put in internment camps, and some other questions. Discussions as a rule end up in down-to-earth problems of security around people's homes or in the streets.

People also say they prefer meetings because meetings give them opportunities to dispute my version, accepting one claim while rejecting another, but that a press interview gives them no such possibility.

Q.: Many institutions have trouble filling all vacancies. Does yours?

A.: Requirements for candidates are extremely complex. First, a candidate must have proper, high moral standards, then, a university degree, but also a "clean" personal file, a "clean" family background, no ties abroad, etc. Finally, in addition to physical aptitude and good health, a candidate must have certain mental qualities.

Q.: What sorts of qualities specifically?

A.: An investigating officer must absolutely keep his cool in situations charged with high emotional stress. He must remain calm in the face of provocative actions. What we call preparatory service lasts 3 years and gives an opportunity for further verification, enabling a candidate to display his detective skills. If we should suffer from labor shortages then it is only because of these stringent requirements. Other barriers to filling all vacancies include salary levels. In this respect, we aren't competitive with regard to some sectors of the national economy. The situation is further aggravated by difficult working conditions although the job itself is attractive, fascinating and gratifying. There's no need for me to explain how trying the past years and months have been for us, especially 1981. Throughout that

period we were engaging many young people, and we are gratified to note this. To answer a question you're probably going to ask, let me stress that, for years now, no violations of the law have been committed by this bureau's employees. Not only have no penal proceedings had to be instituted, but even no disciplinary measures have been necessary.

Q.: What's your view of society from your vantage point as director of the Investigation Bureau?

A.: I regard--and want to regard--society as an ally in our struggle against adverse phenomena which lead to violation of laws in Poland.

Q.: That is the official view, how about your personal opinion? You know the matter of [public] trust appears dubious, occasionally even very bad.

A.: My personal opinion is the same as the official one. Undeniably, mistrust of the authorities is transferred to law enforcement agencies; we are fully aware of this--if that's what you want to hear from me. I'm a realist and a weathered practitioner. I know that when it is informed about the purpose, meaning and effects of our work, society strongly supports us, and will continue to do so, in our actions, especially those aimed against the most serious crimes, those against life or health as well as against public interest. We are continually aware that our ministry must win broad public support and understanding for our actions. Let me add one more thing; times are hard, of course, and Poles are quick to generalize, and hence the many rash cliches, say, that everybody steals. But for us, this is a time for particular prudence in decision-making, for every single imprudent decision has twice as many adverse effects.

POLITYKA: Thank you for [the] interview.

CSO: 2600/406

## FATE OF MENTALLY RETARDED EXPLORED

## Restrictions on Reproduction Proposed

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 83 p 9

[Article by Zbigniew Nienacki: "Treatise on Cretins"]

[Text] During a meeting with the author in the village of Skiolawka, located near the village of Jerzwald where I live, I was asked by a certain woman, why educated people, supposedly intelligent, avoid the patriotic duty of begetting new citizens, and shift all the burden of this responsibility onto the common folk.

For example, I, a writer, supposedly an intelligent person (and she knew a lot about me, because her cousin lives in Jerzwald and told her everything about me), have only one child, a son, whom I managed to get educated as a doctor. This young man, although he is already 30 years old and has completed his residency, is still unmarried, and as far as it is known has no child. Now, her own daughter is only 22, has epilepsy and not much education, and yet she already has 4 children.

According to this woman, the same is true of other educated people. For example, in her own village, two women teachers, with master's degrees, each have only 1 child, while the third teacher, even though she is already 30 and drives a small Fiat, instead of having children has begun to work on a doctorate in primary education. Simple women have 5, 7 or even 11 children, and they bear them despite mounting difficulties. For example, she herself, that is the woman voicing the complaints, has only a fourth-grade education since, as she claimed, she has had epilepsy from earliest childhood. And yet, she had her first child when she was only 16, with her husband, who began receiving welfare when he was 30 years old, because he has schizophrenia. Despite these difficulties, they already have five children and the sixth is on the way. This success was not easy, since three of her children had epilepsy from infancy and have to attend special boarding schools, another child has to remain hospitalized for an extended period of time because of a dislocated hip and the fifth child has difficulties walking and talking. But this did not discourage her, just as it did not discourage her friend from the special school, Porowa, who has 11 children; 4 of them totally deaf also go to special schools, and the others because

of unknown illnesses are also either in hospitals or in homes for children. Despite these difficulties, Porowa promised herself that she will have a 12th child as well. She, that is, the woman making the accusations against the intelligentsia, wants to know the truth: do the educated and intelligent people simply not like male-female work, or are they avoiding their patriotic duties. Before she finished, this woman upbraided a local medic for having only two children, a local pharmacist for having only one and a local forestry engineer for having just two children. She also added with pride, that Poland, in spite of going through such a crisis, was nevertheless able, as she heard on the radio, to get ahead of others and, thanks to the efforts of its citizens, achieve a high ranking as regards the birth rate. Only the intelligentsia remain deaf to the various encouragements which the state offers, and ignore the incentives (her words) such as allowances for multi-children families, educational release time and so on.

#### Shameful Problem or Deceit

I admit that the problem goes beyond my expertise. I wrote a letter to my son asking him very indignantly why he is not making me a grandfather many times over. I also let him know that he was going astray because he is constantly being moved to the last place on the waiting list for an apartment because he is a bachelor and that despite the fact that I paid for his apartment 10 years ago he will not get it sooner than 10 years from now unless he fulfills his patriotic duty of begetting children, especially, since, I, having no contacts higher up, cannot help him in this matter at all. I will not quote the answer of my son as it appears unprintable to me.

And yet the problem exists, though it is considered shameful, and even, I think, treated in a deceitful manner. For example, in POLITYKA No 13, writing about the sentences for Karos and Maliszewski, two assassins of an Otwock taxi driver, Ms Krystyna Swiatecka defends the assassins and writes with total unconcern that Karos had "an organic defect of the nervous system--encephalopathy," while the other murderer Maliszewski suffered from "mental retardation," and "the highest level of imbecility." Instead of taking care of them, society had basically left them to themselves and now it demands that they be punished by death. The same lady adds with equal unconcern that "in the entire country there are approximately a million children and young people suffering from civilizational diseases in the form of various psychological illnesses."

I do not quite understand why the readers of POLITYKA are treated like idiots. We know what these so-called civilizational diseases are, and the use of this enigmatic name to describe the simple phenomenon of begetting imbeciles, quarter-imbeciles, half-imbeciles and three-quarter-imbeciles, has nothing, or rather very little in common with the development of civilization. Simply, to call the thing by its name--the fact of the matter is that people who because of their intelligence quotient are predisposed to bear children, reproduce in an arithmetic progression, while those not predisposed to bear children, that is, people who are genetically burdened, multiply in a geometric progression. Thus, there are simply fewer and fewer people with high IQ's, and more and more people with low IQ's.

It is a misfortune that certain popular views remain prevalent in the society from the top to bottom. Thus, every genetician or eugenicist says, that for parents with an IQ of 120 or even 140 of Wechsler's scale, there exists a probability of bearing a cretin, but this is only a probability. On the other hand, for persons with hereditary diseases there is almost a certainty that a cretin will be born. The example of Beethoven, who according to the principles of genetics should have been a cretin, but in fact was a genius, constitutes a crowning and persistent argument used to deceive people that it does not matter who bears children, for it is all one great unknown.

The murderer of a taxi-driver, Maliszewski, had a child with a cretin, and abandoned this child in a forest, for which both of them were tried. She, as a cretin, was not held responsible. And the child? Good God, why does not anybody ask about the child? What psychological predispositions and what defects in mental development has a child of a cretin and an imbecile? And what does this have to do with civilization? What does it have to do with the fact that my son does not want to have a child, and that Maliszewski had a child with a cretin, and that had he not committed murder, he would have had more children?

#### Good Advice Is Easy To Come By

A million mentally handicapped people live in our country which is engulfed by crisis. How many special schools, homes to provide special care have to be built, how large a cadre of teachers has to be trained to provide care to these people? Who is to take the responsibility for this? The society. The healthy and working part of the society which struggles daily with the difficulties. It is very easy, dear Ms Swiatecka, to accuse the society, but maybe you could also say where the money is supposed to come from to make sure that every little Karos or Maliszewski would be cared for by an appropriate teacher?

Perhaps, in the race to increase the number of children we forgot about quality, and we cover the mistake in this area by the designation "civilizational diseases"?

In the meantime, the situation is worse than just bad. We have almost no data, since in large urban conglomerations research is constantly being impeded by migration from one part of the city to another so that it is almost impossible to trace genealogies from grandfather to fathers, measuring the intelligence quotient and genetic conditioning. However, I did see the results of one such investigation conducted by an amateur in a small, relatively stable rural community consisting of approximately 2,000 people. The director of a school knows almost all the people in this community and has known them for 30 years, and he had interesting data based on grades received in school by the individual students and regarding their later family situations and fates. This is what he told me:

"While 15 years ago as many as 3 students from this community went on to attend, and finished, institutions of higher learning, today no child from the community has such a chance because, to call the thing by its real name,

no child has the necessary intelligence quotient. We have increasingly better and more qualified teachers, and a greater number of school materials, etc. Unfortunately the human material is worse and worse. These 3 people who received higher education have 1 or 2 children with high intelligence, IQ's over 100 or even 110. Unfortunately, they took these children away from our school and gave them to in-laws in the cities, since, they claim they do not want their children to study together with cretins. The school is attended by children whose parents--you can check it yourself in the records--received bad grades, were retained for 3 years in the same grade and did not even finish the 6th grade. Most of these children have IQ's below normal for their age. They should go to a special school, but, either there is no place for them, or the parents do not agree to transfer them there. Thus, we must teach children most of whom are mentally retarded, which lowers the level for children with sufficient IQ's. The results of teaching are made to appear higher since we receive statements from educational and occupational counselors' offices which allow us to exclude mentally retarded children from the general classification. Nevertheless, the level of teaching is still lowered by the majority of children whose development is below their age group norms, so that even a normal child who gets straight A's encounters difficulties after leaving the school here. Going to the city, to attend high school, our children encounter higher standards and are unable to manage, so that they quit after the first year and rarely get a diploma. I can take you to the kindergarten, where you can see yourself that most small children do not know how to play with blocks, how to cut with scissors, and even contact with them is difficult. These are children from families with many offspring, families of my former failing students, or those students who were held back in the same grade for 3 years. It is horrible how these bad students are multiplying, while the good ones avoid reproduction..."

### "Oligarchy" and "Proletariat"

Apart from hereditary transmission, in many cases we encounter social pathology. In the past, this was connected with the material situation of parents, today it is the other way around. The better the material situation of parents, the greater the social pathology. What will the sociologists make of this?

In Poland we encounter a completely new phenomenon, which seems nonexistent in other countries. Thus, in villages such as mine, the last period gave birth to a peculiar financial "oligarchy" and a peculiar material "proletariat." The financial "oligarchy" is composed of forestry workers, most of them lumberjacks, loggers, professional fishermen, farmers with tractors. I saw the wage list: a forestry worker, a lumberjack, earns on the average, together with reimbursements, approximately 40,000 zlotys monthly; a logger receives on the average 60,000 zlotys; while a fisherman earns between 30,000 and 50,000 zlotys monthly. At the same time, a wage proletariat is composed of teachers who earn 7,000 zlotys monthly, a rural doctor who gets 15,000 zlotys, or a writer such as myself with 20,000 zlotys monthly.

It is interesting that children of this financial "proletariat" have bicycles and books (though these are so difficult to buy), go to the cinema, and at

least once went to a puppet theater, while the children of this financial "oligarchy" have nothing, neither bicycles, nor books. They never saw a train. Occasionally there is even no television set at home. The parents do not understand and do not want to understand the needs of their children. Most of these high earnings go for the most expensive meats and very expensive alcohol. For these people there are no foods which are "too expensive." Even if caviar or lox were to be brought to the store, they would buy it, but they will not spend a penny for a bicycle or a book or a subscription to a children's magazine. In these conditions--because of social pathology--such children also have low IQ's. They achieve bad results in school. The difficulties in having young people assume agricultural farms are not the result of the lack of willing youngsters, but result from the fact that the heads of Communal Offices cannot transfer farms of the parents to their children who lack agricultural qualifications. They simply did not complete elementary education. The same is true about the distribution of tractors. Only a person who finished 8th grade can receive a driver's license to drive a tractor in Poland. It turns out that there are some who do not have this education, and despite the fact that they need a tractor to farm, they cannot get one.

So What Is To Be Done, Gentlemen?

Thus, on the one hand, the society places increasingly greater demands on individuals and, on the other, there is an increasing number of people who--most often because of their hereditary transmission--cannot meet these demands. Unfortunately, in this respect that quantity does not want to change into quality. The forestry supervisor in my area is worried about the lack of lumberjacks. A contemporary lumberjack has to be able to use a mechanical saw, and appropriate training and testing is necessary for this. The work in a forest with a mechanical saw can be dangerous to the lives of others, and an imbecile, or a person freed from criminal responsibility because of his mental incompetence cannot cut trees. A half-cretin is thus left with welfare, and that at a young age. This does not prevent the "retiree" from begetting children, which is his favorite occupation, and these children then have to be supported by the society.

I was a witness of a fishermen's raid on poachers who came from all around in order to catch fish from an air-hole because of a so-called fish-kill. Of the 30 persons between 30 and 40 years old who had been caught, all turned out to be living on some welfare, mostly because of some mental deficiency--oligophrenia, schizophrenia, encephalopathy, etc. All of them were married, and all had several children.

Because of their high birth rate, we can expect to have to make a great effort to build many special schools, mental hospitals, nursing homes and educational institutions; we must also designate billions of zlotys for welfare for people under 30 who have various mental disabilities.

I do not know why educated people with high IQ's do not like male-female work and I could not answer the woman mentioned at the beginning of the article. But there is no lack of journalists in our country. Why then, are you not writing about this, ladies and gentlemen?

## Author Clarifies Proposals

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 42, 19 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Zbigniew Nienacki: "Confessions of a Herod, 1983"]

[Text] Finally I found out how much I dislike children. Finally I know why, driven by this dislike, I spent my entire creative life devoting myself to children. Finally, I was made aware that I am something like a 1983 version of a Herod, who plans a slaughter of the innocents, euthanasia, sterilization and concentration camps for children, while not a week or a day passes without entertaining buses full of children among whom I distribute smiles, autographs and to whom I tell stories about myself.

I.

What duplicity has luckily been unmasked by my antagonists who wrote for TU I TERAZ deigning to respond to the "Treatise on Cretins." Although I never said anything about sterilization, euthanasia, concentration camps for children, yet it is always possible to state that Nienacki "suggests" something like it, that this "follows" from his statements, or is a "consequence" of them. Unfortunately this is sometimes the style of polemics.

My antagonists gave me much to think about. It turned out that I am a follower of Malthus, although Malthus did not speak about the intelligence quotient. Malthus simply formulated a law according to which population grows geometrically while the production of food increases arithmetically, and therefore, humanity is threatened by hunger. In addition, Malthus formulated a law about decreasing productivity of land. I, on the other hand, wrote something else: People who are not genetically predisposed to reproduce are reproducing in a geometric progression, while people who are predisposed to reproduce are doing so in an arithmetic progression. Every Polish citizen can observe this in his own backyard, in his neighborhood, in his own village.

I wrote this and I admitted: I do not know how to solve this problem. I did so at a time when every journalist and almost every person in the country knows best how to solve every problem. I was tactless: I should have known.

I appealed to experts: geneticists and eugenicists, pedagogues and doctors to help find an answer to the questions I raised. Not one of them made his views public, but I received very many letters each with a condition that it should not be published and that the name and the address should be known only to the editors. This means that people are afraid of terror and intolerance which surrounds the issues I had raised. This is very sad.

II.

One can learn from any book on genetics (e.g., from the pamphlet by Janina Beisson) that a human being is almost entirely determined in the moment of



conception. What is more, the so-called genotype is not influenced by external conditions but is entirely determined by the random crossing of genes. In other words, even at the moment of conception, somebody else has already probably decided for us what will be the color of our hair and eyes, whether we will be shortsighted, how long we will live (if we are not run over by a streetcar or fall victim to some deadly disease). Probably, several genes are also carriers of our intelligence and our other abilities. Thus, it can be said in a literary language that every one of us is to a degree endowed with a free will and decides his own fate, since the actual decisions are made by the genetic material from which a person was created. A man--to continue with the literary language--is created at the moment of conception as a set of predispositions, both positive and negative, which later in the prenatal and postnatal period are either developed or stopped.

Apart from the genotype, there is also a phenotype, which results from the interaction between the genotype and the environment. In the case of the phenotype, we can speak about the probability of the effects of external conditions. I repeat, we can speak about the probability because in truth, all theories about the external conditioning of personality, abilities and character of a person remain in the sphere of hypotheses, suppositions, observations. If there is any doctor, genetician or journalist who would claim otherwise, he would simply be lying or merely sharing his opinions.

There are no experiments, and probably experiments (which would give us certainty in this matter) will never be conducted. They will not be conducted because there are ethical considerations which prevent us from doing so. To conduct them, it would be necessary to take identical twins and raise them in diametrically different conditions until they are at least 30 (one would be well fed, the other starved, one subject to stress, the other not, one given good teachers, the other bad ones, etc.), so that it would be possible later to compare what differences there are between them. And, in order to be sure, it would be necessary to conduct maybe a hundred, and maybe a thousand such experiments. Who would agree to this? Who would allow for such cruelty to two identical twins?

But in this situation, everything remains in a sphere of suppositions, working hypotheses, suggestions, observations.

The same concerns the so-called "unchangeability" of the genetic pool of the human race, according to which in the long run everything somehow evens itself out and returns to the norm. But this is only one of many theories. In fact, nobody knows what the human genetic pool is. Nobody studied humanity from this point of view, and all the studies were done fragmentarily, environmentally and concerned small groups within particular populations.

Observing the lower species, it has been discovered that with the lack of selection mechanisms, a species degenerates and dies out. This does not mean that this must be true of mankind. But it might be true.

### III.

It is not true that the problem of a threat to the human genetic pool is an outmoded, 19th century problem. It is one of the basic problems which continues to be of great interest to contemporary eugenics. Discussion of this issue will continue for decades.

Let me quote a statement of Ernst Meyr, the great contemporary eugenicist from Harvard University. Addressing the problem of the so-called "unchangeability" of the human genetic pool, he says:

"Unfortunately, the status quo is not possible in the case of species as genetically changeable as humans. Selection through mortality has been almost completely replaced during the last century by selection through reproduction. A father of six children brings in six times as many genes into the genetic pool as the father of two children. And, since the more intelligent members of our society limit the number of their offspring, this factor alone causes changes in the status quo."

Professor Meyr notes that in the distant future mankind will need to introduce something like a certificate giving the right to bear children. Like all of us, he is horrified by this thought, but he adds, nevertheless:

"The biological future of mankind brings about problems which cannot be solved by purely biological means. We need to reevaluate basic values, a value revolution. To a settler who 200 years ago reached the unknown territories of the American west, a big family was the greatest value. In the overpopulated gigantic cities of today, a large family is a burden to the individual and to the society. When we learned the Ten Commandments in our childhood, we believed that it was obvious that all ethical values are absolute. The technological and medical revolutions taught us that many values which in the past were very highly esteemed, no longer correspond to the needs of the day. The right to bear an unlimited number of children belongs among those values which have to be thought out anew. Only this can guarantee the permanence of the humanity of man, and this is what is meant when we speak about the future of mankind."

What can one add to this? That at issue are not concentration camps for children, sterilization or euthanasia, but a rethinking of certain values which just a short time ago appeared to be absolute and unchangeable. Among these values is the right to bear children.

### IV.

We are a poor country which has the highest birth rate in Europe. We are something like a Mexico or India of Europe. We desire a better and better standard of living, we want to have plenty of everything, but almost half of our national product goes for excessive population growth. If at least this human material were to guarantee that in the future we will be a power, but it does not. It is a human material which is far from perfect, especially as far as mental development is concerned, it lacks abilities to understand

moral values and to gather knowledge. I do not know whether we have 1 million mentally handicapped children (I cited this number after POLITYKA) or whether there are only 200,000 such children which have to be supported by the healthy and working part of the society. I think that the number 200,000 is too low since in my own environment I know of many mentally handicapped children who never had been registered anywhere. Or, dozens of children who simply have a lower than normal intelligence quotient, which makes it difficult for them to distinguish good from evil and to gain even minimal professional qualifications. And besides that, from what we know about the phenotype, external conditions do have an influence on human beings both in the prenatal period and later. And, considering the fact that there are so many families where at least one of the parents is an alcoholic and who has a small child, this child must lose a sense of security and suffer from the so-called "orphan's disease." This often leads to permanent personality changes, or as it is called here, to the formation of an antisocial personality. In certain respects, a psychopath or a person with personality disorders is more dangerous than a schizophrenic. I repeat: not only dangerous for society as a person with a brain lesion, but also as a person with a defective character, and such defects can occur as early as the age of 3. Thus a million seems to be a number closer to reality. Alcoholics also should have no children, even if they have the proper genetic material.

I agree that society must support mentally and psychologically handicapped children, or those with low IQ's. But I believe that the society must be asked about this. It has to know the scale of the problem and it must agree to build fewer apartments and more hospitals and homes for special care, to lower salaries to cover expenses for specialist clinics, for teachers, for homes of child care.

It is necessary to present the truth honestly. To produce fewer cars, refrigerators, television sets and to designate the funds for the creation of humane conditions for mentally handicapped people and for their future offspring, if we agree that they should reproduce geometrically.

I am sick--very sick--when I return from visits to homes for special care and I am aware of the fact that apart from material amelioration of their lives (and money is constantly short for this), I cannot do anything for these children. These children are not guilty of anything. The only guilty parties can be their parents.

I am sick when I have to write an appeal to the court to take away parental rights from a degenerate mother. Once we took away four children from such a woman and we gave them to homes for child care (not one of them was normal), and then she "made herself" another four children and we had to take them away again (and again they were not normal). Now, I visited her home again: she has three more. One, a small two-year-old, constantly strikes with his head a pillow rotten from vomit, diarrhea, urine. The others are also not normal, and she laughs in my face and says: "Take these three away, mister writer, I will make myself some more." In order to alleviate the fate of these children, half-animal, half-human, the society gives this woman welfare, clothing. But the money is used for drink, clothing thrown away

after one use or sold for more vodka. And so, we take these three away as well?

And where are you, journalists-humanists, sanctimonious hypocrites? I would like to hear from you. And the society would also like to hear, I believe. I ask--who gives the right to a mother or an accidental father to render another human being unhappy for life by making it live an inhuman, cruel, animal life? And am I supposed to assuage my consciousness by the fact that I took children away from a mother, that I gave her clothing, that I made the arrangements for her to receive help, that I read a lecture, gave a talk, sent an appeal?

What am I to do with a mother of eight children of which at least one (though all are not normal) I wanted to place in a special school, but when I finally brought the mother an admission form, I was told that she would not put the child in a special school because it was necessary to pay 150 zlotys a month and to buy the child a pair of pyjamas. This woman's husband earns 40,000 zlotys a month. Am I supposed to buy the pyjamas and pay this 150 zlotys? Because I have a conscience and she does not?

In the meantime, one of my antagonists writes:

"We are now trying to prevent births of handicapped children, and if they are born, trying to correct their shortcomings so as to enable them to live in the society."

This person adds that I should not worry and try to make a fake contribution, since there exists in Poland an organization of parents in the Committee of Help for Handicapped People. And this committee will shortly take care of everything, since, after all, it forms public opinion. It is too bad that thousands of children in villages and towns do not know about this committee. This committee will correct changes in a child's brain tissue, it will reverse the effects of hereditary syphilis, and so on, and so on. This is the same as if someone were to say not to worry about literature because the Union of Polish writers has been created.

Where is this committee? In our Zalewo community, we have been searching for a doctor, a single doctor to direct our health center, and we cannot find one. There is not a single doctor for the entire community, and I am told about specialized clinics, about the special care provided for the mentally handicapped children. Such conditions do perhaps exist in the capital and in several large cities, but they are lacking in hundreds of thousands of villages and small towns.

Perhaps from now on, after the lesson taught by my antagonists, when anyone turns to me to express an interest in children living in inhuman conditions caused by their cretin parents, I should simply cite the articles of my polemicists who proved to me black on white that everything is in order in this respect in our country.

My most adamant antagonist says:

"Still, in our streets, in parks and streetcars, here and there, hides sometimes an excited degenerate with a razor blade under his tongue. In the cellars, some future Maliszewskis are still training in karate, but even though you (and I) do not like it, that is the way it is. Why? Because this is the way we are."

And further, "And as long as we are this way, we deserve nothing better. Responsibility for this state of affairs cannot rest only on the individual."

But, responsibility can only be individual. I did not kill small children hiding a razor blade under my tongue, but some real person did it. Let the murderers go free because the society is guilty--is that the way I am supposed to understand this statement?

In my village, a degenerate killed a 14-year-old girl in a particularly cruel manner. Am I supposed to go to the parents of this girl and say that this had to be because "that is the way we are"? Am I supposed to tell a mother whose 4-year-old daughter was cruelly killed by an imbecile who kidnapped her from a sand box, that this was the way it had to be, because this is a "reaction to pain" described by my antagonist. What sort of reaction is it? To what pain? Transcendental, existential pain of existence?

No, my dear antagonists. I believe that it does not have to be this way. Moreover, I believe that it cannot be this way. I believe that women have to be able to walk through a park in peace. I believe that one has to be wise before the fact, and not after the harm has been done, and that even now we should insure ourselves against begetting future Maliszewskis.

V.

I received many letters from the readers. Not a single one condemned my article. Above all, these were letters from women. Some advised that the matter should be left to God. Others claimed that the Catholic Church should pay a special tax for mentally handicapped children, since the Church advises maintaining a fetus even in the case of a daughter being raped by her father, according to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. One of the indignant mothers wrote: "I refuse myself the right to a third child because I want my two children to have everything that is necessary for their correct development, and next door a neighbor is having her sixth child which is then taken to the Home for Child Care. And whose money supports this home? Mine. Money is taken away from my children. After all, the state is all of us, not just the government."

And in conclusion one more thing: let us cease mixing up the concepts of physically and mentally handicapped. In today's extremely complicated society, a person with no legs, as long as he has an appropriate IQ, can even service a computer. Minimal social help is sufficient to make physically handicapped people extremely useful and then they are able to repay with interest the help they had received, like, for example, the cooperatives of the handicapped. But there is no help for the idiots.

12495

CSO: 2600/185

## MEDICAL ASSISTANCE IN WARS FOUGHT IN URBAN AREAS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 83 pp 211-215

[Article by medical Dr Col Victor Botez: "Medical Care to Combat Forces and the Civilian Population in Urban Areas"]

[Text] Under conditions of a defensive war, the combat in the large localities presents a series of particular problems that are also reflected in the field of medical care.

The structure of medical losses and the types of injuries vary in relationship to the predominance of certain determining factors and the separate nature of the combat actions.

As a result, the problems of health-antiepidemic medical care in the combat actions that are carried out in these large localities take on a nature more complex and more difficult than in the case of combat outside of these localities, requiring the detailed organization and coordination of activities of the different elements obligated to provide medical care to the combat personnel and the civilian population.

### Medicine in the Campaign

The characteristics of carrying out combat in large localities involve a series of particular problems with regards to medical care. First of all, the structure of medical losses, corresponding to the means employed in combat on a priority basis in these localities, as well as the manner in which wounds or other different injuries are produced, brings about changes in the field of organizing and directing medical care.

Compared to combat in relatively open terrain and in broken terrain, there is a decrease in the percentage of wounds from bullets and shrapnel and an increase in serious multiple injuries that are caused not so much by combat weapons as by secondary projectiles thrown out by explosions, by being in or between buildings and by trapping personnel under the ruins of buildings and other urban constructions. At the same time, there is a great increase in the number of burns caused both by the use of incendiary devices and as a result of the combustion of different flammable constructions and materials near to the combat personnel.

When combat is carried out in localities that have been encircled for a long period of time, other problems also appear at the level of medical care: the physical and mental exhaustion of the personnel and undernourishment, with the resulting pathology, and the occurrence of psychological problems and, frequently, shortfalls in the area of hygieno-epidemiology, resulting in various injurious effects and culminating in the outbreak of epidemics.

Such problems require a series of organizational measures and a structuring and restructuring of medical care for the combat personnel and the non-combatant population.

The organization of first aid for the injured and their evacuation and treatment must be carried out under and adapted to certain sufficiently different conditions than those found in the combat areas where the troops are located outside of towns.

The combat is carried out on a discontinuous front, in apartment complexes, in the streets, in buildings and even from floor to floor, with very persistent combat firepower, alternating with regions and times of relative quiet. The paths used for evacuation are frequently cut off by the enemy, blocked by ruins or blocked by combat engineering structures (trenches, barricades and so forth) that are required for combat. As a result, not only first aid but also the longer treatment of the wounded must be frequently organized near the places where the combat is being waged, usually underground in strong basements, in nearby existing civil defense shelters or in other underground constructions that have at least two entrances, so personnel can be evacuated in case one of the entrances is blocked by ruins. The medical groups of the subunits and units are located much closer to the subunits and defensive groups involved in combat, sometimes only several hundred meters or, at most, one to three kilometers away and dispersed in a radial manner so as to ensure the reception of the wounded from different sectors of the locality.

In the case of large and very large cities, the troops' medical formations will be placed, by preference, along the highway loops around the cities and when the fighting is taking place inside the cities they will use vacant areas, gardens, parks or places close to main highways so as to ensure the medical groups' opportunity to maneuver about and to prevent a blocking of the paths for medical evacuations and supply because of building ruins or large fires.

Frequently, there is a priority use of hospitals, dispensaries, polyclinics and other existing medical institutes in these cities and municipalities for medical treatment groups, with the evacuation of the wounded outside of these areas to field hospitals or territorial hospitals in other, distant localities being made very difficult and frequently impossible to carry out. Sometimes even an evacuation of several hundred meters is done with great risk or is truly impossible to carry out because of the cutting off or blocking of the access routes to the nearest medical group.

Under such conditions, there is need to organize qualified and even specialized medical-surgical treatment as near as possible, in this locality itself, and

when the evacuation of a large number of wounded to hospitals is too risky or impossible it is necessary to resort quickly to bringing certain medical teams and strictly necessary equipment to certain underground shelters or buildings less exposed to enemy fire in order to improvise places for medical first aid and even operating rooms and to provide medical-surgical emergency and life-saving care.

As a general rule, when the fighting is being carried out on the periphery of the locality the medical first aid stations will be located on the periphery or in a radial manner in the case of a partial or total encirclement of the locality. The qualified and specialized treatment groups will be located more or less centrally within the locality, but they must avoid placing them in the vicinity of certain important industrial complexes, significant railroad or highway centers, fuel depots and so forth, which will be hit by the enemy on a priority basis.

An initial appropriate distribution must also be done with regards to the stocks of medicines, dressings and different medical materials needed by the medical first aid and qualified and specialized medical-surgical treatment groups, keeping in mind that the later supply and redistribution will be accomplished with great difficulty and at long and irregular intervals of time, with it being impossible, normally, to ensure the regularity and distribution of supplies in accordance with the need. This means working ahead of time with a spirit of foresight and creating reserves for a long period of time, especially of dressings, medicines and antiepidemic materials. Medical personnel in the subunits and medical groups will be supplied with additional stocks of medical materials so as to give these persons a certain degree of autonomy and the opportunity to treat the wounded on-the-spot in the case of being blocked in or encircled.

Medical evacuations will be accomplished selecting those routes most free of the enemy's direct fire.

Medical evacuation via highway vehicles will be used whenever access to routes permits, both for evacuations within the localities and for evacuations outside of them, if the fighting is not taking place around them.

Frequently, however, other means will also be used when vehicles cannot get to those places where the wounded and sick are sheltered: human-powered vehicles, carts and stretchers or - when they can be found locally - animal-powered vehicles which can negotiate irregular terrain, ruins and so forth.

The medical groups will organize teams for removing the injured from beneath ruins and for putting out fires that endanger the medical groups.

In order to remove the injured from places that are difficult to access, it is necessary to have equipment to move obstacles, as well as ropes, ladders, cables, pullies, blocks and other small-scale mechanized systems.



In certain situations, when it is necessary to urgently evacuate certain wounded, but it is not possible to use vehicles, helicopters will be kept in mind as a means of organizing the evacuation. To this end, landing areas will be established and prepared in some vacant lots, squares, large street intersections or even on the roof of certain buildings, with measures being taken in all cases so that the loading and evacuation of the wounded will not be exposed to the direct fire of the enemy.

In accordance with the structure of the combat formations in the locality, the medical organs and groups of the combat troops, patriotic guards and civil defense will be involved in the organization and carrying out of first aid, evacuation of the wounded and sick and their treatment, and in the application of hygieno-antiepidemic measures, especially for the purpose of preventing the outbreak of epidemics. This will also involve the Red Cross, the health organs in the county and local defense councils, all the health groups in the network of the Ministry of Health and other departments with their own health care network that exist in the locality. They will give medical assistance both to the combat forces and to the non-combatant population, with it being possible in the large municipalities to separately assign some hospital groups and sections only for combat forces and others only for the non-combatant population.

In order to have a judicious organization and management of activities for troop medical care in the locality, especially for seeking out and removing the wounded, deploying medical groups and carrying out medical evacuations, the chief doctors of the units, that is, the chief medic of the headquarters unit or unit who leads and coordinates all the activities for medical care in a locality encircled by the enemy, must study and understand in detail the topography of the locality, the main highway arteries that cross or connect the different sectors, the local health network and its operational capabilities and the existence of other places as well as certain useable underground constructions for setting up medical groups and the existence of certain sources of local water capable of replacing the urban water supply network knocked out of operation by bombing. The establishment of these data and their use during combat, in accordance with their status, can be achieved under appropriate conditions through a close cooperation with the appropriate organs within the framework of the local defense council and with the direct support of the defense groups and population in the locality.

In reference to the type of field medical groups which will probably operate during combat in large localities, there will be: battalion medical groups from the battalions in the first echelon of the regiments; sometimes even the medical stations of the regiments, normally at the opposite extreme of or lateral to the locality; medical groups and platoons of the subunits of patriotic guards, front-line hospitals of the patriotic guard brigades; medical groups, medical first aid stations, triage and evacuation stations and first aid medical-surgical detachments of the civil defense. These will give medical care to all wounded and sick combat personnel regardless of their assignment to units and subunits of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of the Interior or local defense

groups. Also, they will frequently give some forms of medical assistance to the non-combatant civil population, especially first aid and antiepidemic actions.

Normally, however, the medical assistance for the population is provided through the local health groups of the Ministry of Health: district medical dispensaries, polyclinic dispensaries, laboratories, hospitals, antiepidemic centers or laboratories, ambulance stations, blood collection and preservation centers or laboratories and other medical institutions, as well as through the medical groups of the civil defense and Red Cross.

The priority problems in medical care for the population are: first aid and emergency surgical care for the victims of combat actions that are being carried out within the locality, especially air bombing and artillery fire, and the prevention and combating of epidemic illnesses.

Medical care under combat actions that are carried out in large localities has an aspect more complex and, usually, more difficult than in the case of carrying out combat outside of localities, and this requires a very detailed organization and coordination of the activities of different elements which must provide medical assistance to combat personnel and the population.

8724

CSO: 2700/72

## CATHOLIC PRIEST ACCUSED OF IMMORALITY, CORRUPTION

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 12 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] A good bit of time has passed since we talked, and the initial feeling, that we had no discussion, has become more and more of a certainty. No, there is no paradox here, the man that I was speaking to talked purely in generalities which were far from covering a hideous, crude, dramatic reality, to which I would have liked to refer. That is, they were the words of someone who was and is a capable, and in many areas even cynical, creator of facts and attitudes which have nothing, absolutely nothing, in common with the investiture of faith which believers attribute to the function and person of a priest. As to my questions, raised by the gravity and seriousness of the facts which were related to me not long ago, the priest Iosif Mares appeared simply not to want to answer. Is he afraid of the truth? Is he afraid of the consequences? I don't know, and that doesn't interest me. What is essential is simply that the desired dialogue was transformed into a series of parallel monologues.

Nevertheless, at a particular moment, when he could no longer control his reactions (it should be understood that his calm and detachment were ably maintained up to then) he burst out:

--Couldn't you stop the article? Aren't you aware of what believers would say about me? How could I continue to appear before them and preach the word of God?

And that was that! No shame, no feeling of guilt about what took place with premeditation and careful calculation; it was merely necessary to keep up appearances. It mattered only to people around Radauti, people of the Roman Catholic faith to which Iosif Mares also belongs that he be the model of a respectable person. In this calculation of pride and vanity, the facts do not count, the drama which he provoked, irreparable at least for the moment, the disorientation of a young person who had and has no guilt apart from the fact that she believed (at what risk!) that you cannot always apply the proverb: "do as the Pope says and not as he does." The facts as they are accuse him without any right of denial, and any efforts would depose Iosif Mares. It is difficult to imagine that in the face of the truth his believers would persist and even grant him the moral endorsement to preach the notions of right, honor, truth and beauty to which he makes daily claim through the faith he is trying to convince us he deserves.

Furthermore for the past several years, the local people of the Traian commune in the Bacau district have observed with mild surprise that the young vicar Iosif Mares has been intensely preoccupied with sports, with amusements, with contacts with youth. Still, people said that being as young as he is the priest would have the right not to stay in seclusion, the right to engage in one form or another in the concerns, life and activities of the commune's youth. Until now everything seemed well and good. No, even more than that, the young priest nonchalantly took up with everything from Kent cigarettes to the harshest western music; he also liked vodka and whiskey; in a word he became a sot.

But at a certain point the villagers observed, at first with amazement and later with rising indignation, that in the concerns of a young co-ed, a tenth grade student, which until then had been clean and clear, something had been injected which had brusquely and dramatically changed the course of her life. Now that something was in fact someone, i.e., the priest Iosif Mares. Taking advantage of the girl's good will and naivete, he who was supposed to be a preacher of God's Word abused the girl in an absolutely abominable fashion, not by a simple escapade but by systematically disorienting her, pushing her into a moral abyss of deprivation of ideals and personality. Anyone who knows the full truth and peruses priest Mares's letters addressed to the young girl we have been talking about cannot but be struck by the cheap pathos, the charade, the dense verbiage, the empty sentimentality of tirades which start off in a moralizing tone and end as simply crocodile tears. Nothing is missing from Iosif M.'s demagogic-sentimental arsenal--not invective, not the simulation of despair, not imploring, not the tendency, well-masked it is true, to exercise moral suasion on someone for whom he is in principle responsible. When words do not suffice he finds strategies worthy of the cheapest sentimental novels: he calls her to meetings "like in the films," he makes her travel from Bacau to Brasov, he arranges rendezvous specifically at the Black Church to implore and threaten her not to make everything public. The father's luck, if you can call it that, is that the girl's health deteriorated so much that the birth was premature and the child died.

Thus he is free and happy, without reminders, regrets or remorse. Now he is just fine here at Radauti and his only concern is to keep up appearances.

He might be able to answer me, speaking from a human point of view, that it was a matter of temporary insanity, that it was basically an accident, regrettable it is true, but which does not imply any personality disorder. Only this so-called "accident" jibes perfectly with a wide range of behavior which, when brought to light, provides a totally different picture of what Iosif Mares really believes and does. For example, in 1981 he received (in what form and for what reason it is difficult to say) the sum of \$4,000 from a student fund. You might expect that of this money the priest would invest a certain portion for charitable causes, for the support of some parishioners who, in some form or other, might have need of assistance on the part of one whom they consider "God's messenger." Not at all! The minute he got the money, Iosif Mares purchased, through Comturist, radio-cassette players, fur and leather garments, blouses, objects which he resold on the black market. It is difficult to imagine that anyone who loves life, much less someone who preaches Christian ethics and morality, would have a real need for nearly a

thousand packs of foreign cigarettes for which he paid no more and no less than 1,200 dollars. What followed this behavior? Did he use for this purpose the experience from the time of his reproachable friendship with one Marian Vernica, a wheeler-dealer from Bacau whose collusion he mustered for some financial racketeering back in 1979? Here then, are questions which it is natural and necessary for Iosif Mares to ask himself, without equivocation, without cheap pathos, without exaggerated conceit and lies.

These are questions of conscience which stem from the natural and proper necessity to bring the truth to light and not from anyone's desire to put the blame on someone. Because it is very natural for that to occur, as the people to whom I have been talking told me. I have not cited for you all, but rather only the words of some of the most respected and esteemed people of the Traian commune who saw the need to abandon the priest Iosif Mares, who had been so dishonored. There are the words of the vice president of the commune's people's council, Mihai Buriacu: "It would seem that after so much time, things would be closed. But how can the priest Mares speak about right and honor, about kindness and good when he used the very pulpit for dishonor and cynicism? Let us say that there is no legal ground to indict him. But don't the moral laws of our society, right and truth have something to say? This is a question which we indignant people of the commune have properly put to him and which he cannot avoid answering."

All of these are things which Iosif Mares has not thought about. Or, if he has, he hasn't found a fitting response. Meanwhile he advances the statements of the zealous higher religious forums, among which, of course, the following formula is not lacking: "On what authority can I preach the word of God?"

Now, to that question, no one other than he himself can give an answer. I would like to tell Iosif Mares that if he does not stop using his "authority" for purposes unworthy of his rank, he cannot insist that the Roman Catholic flock of his parish accord him any credibility at all, not even as a church official. Here is why at the end of a discussion which was simply a repetition, a sequence of parallel monologues, this reporter feels the need to ask himself: why, then, the silence?

9794

CSO: 2700/59

RCP MEETING ON AGRICULTURE

Ceausescu Attends

AU072057 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 7 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest 7 Dec (AGERPRES)--Attended by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, on December 7 a working meeting on agricultural questions started at the Central Committee of the RCP. The meeting is meant to analyze the activity carried out and the results achieved in agriculture in 1983, and to contribute to generalization of the advanced experience of the front-ranking agricultural units to the end of improving work in all the sectors of this basic branch of the Romanian economy and to establish the ways and means for implementation of the targets set in the documents of the 12th Congress and of the national conference of the RCP, and the stipulations of the programme for supplying safe and stable crops by way of rational use of the country's entire agricultural area, of irrigation drainage and soil-erosion fighting operations.

Opening the meeting, Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry, read a report on the conclusions and lessons to be learned from the activity carried out in agriculture in 1983 and the measures to be taken in view of materialization of all plan indices in point of vegetal and animal production in 1984.

Also submitted for debates are the priority programmes on the cultivation of maize, industrial crops, sugarbeets, potatoes and vegetables, the programmes concerning viticulture and fruit growing and breeding of the planned number of head, the tasks for 1984 in the fields of land melioration, exports, mechanization of the farm operations, self-supply, and the agricultural cadre training over the December 1983-February 1984 period.

Proceedings continue.

Discussion of Successes, Shortfalls

AU082125 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1932 GMT 8 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Dec (AGERPRES)--The working meeting with basic cadres in agriculture continued on December 8, in Bucharest.

In the morning, the works proceeded by groups of counties. Major questions of the development of the Romanian agriculture and ways to attain the targets of the new green revolution were debated.

Stressing the fine results registered in numerous farm units, the participants in the debates also pointed to a series of shortfalls which added to the specific weather conditions of this year. Because of that certain units did not fulfil their farm production plan as a whole or with certain crops which resulted in shortcomings in the carrying through of the self-supply programmes. The plan of agriculture development for 1984 was considered to better correlate its provisions with the potential extant in state-owned and cooperative units, and thus provide for a more marked and intensive development of the vegetal and animal production.

On Thursday afternoon, the works of the meeting were held by sections.

#### Session Concludes

AU092017 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 9 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Dec (AGERPRES)--Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, the working meeting on agricultural matters at the Central Committee of the RCP concluded on Friday, December 9.

During the meeting, basic questions on agriculture, on the activity carried out in the fields, in the third year of the five-year plan period were discussed, the plan of agriculture development in 1984, the provisions of the priority programmes for each farm sector were debated and the guidelines for the attainment of the targets of the new green revolution were outlined.

At the close of the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

CSO: 2020/41

YOUTH UNION PLENARY MEETING REPORTED

AU102300 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 10 Dec 83

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 10 a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the UCY was held to analyze the activity carried out by the Union of the Communist Youth for strengthening the revolutionary spirit of those educating the young generation, for political and organizational consolidation of the UCY, and continuous improvement of the work style and methods. The plenary also established the lines of action for enhancement of the contribution to be made by the young generation to turning into effect the targets in the 1981-1985 five-year plan, and to the materialization of the RCP programme.

During proceedings stress was laid on the need for a strengthening of the revolutionary spirit in the entire activity carried out for education, improvement of the ways and means of the communist education of the youth, bettering of the political and ideological content of all actions in view of moulding a lofty patriotic consciousness and firmly applying in the life and activity of the youth the principles and norms of the Communists' life, of the socialist ethics and equity.

The plenary meeting endorsed a wide-embracing set of measures concerning intensification of the entire Romanian youth's participation in the implementation of tasks in each domain of activity, and strengthening of its unity of action for materialization of the resolutions of the 12th congress and of the national conference of the Romanian Communist Party.

By the conclusion of proceedings the participants in the plenary meeting endorsed a telegram to be addressed to RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

CSO: 2020/41



## HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR MILITARY EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 83 pp 285-289

[Article by medical Dr Col Victor Lupascu, medical Dr LtCol Ioan Marinescu and Elena Motancea, based on a report at the festive session on the 150th anniversary of the certification of the Craiova Military Hospital: "Health Education - An Obligation and Necessity for the Medical Personnel in the Army"]

[Text] Referring to the most frequent causes of illnesses found among the personnel and draftees interned or examined by medical commissions in the Craiova Military Hospital, the authors point out the main causes which generate the majority of the diseases that are treated and the need to combat them through a sustained and systematic health education that is especially carried out at the unit level.

They show the efficiency of health education and the means for obtaining the best results, pointing out different subjects of current interest and major importance.

### Health Education

In the following article, we propose to deal with a problem of health education, a subject of very current interest, especially today when there is ever more talk of preventative medicine and well-person medicine, keeping in mind the question put forth by the World Health Organization: "Do you opt for health or for smoking?" What we are putting forth is not a report, but more an introductory note in this vast problem, of whose acuity the whole world is convinced, but for which very little or nearly nothing is done.

In order to justify the utility of the subject we have selected, we will present several findings in connection with the results of the medical visits to military cadres over a period of time, medical expertise activities and some elements in the hospital's annual statistical report.

Among the personnel reviewed as a result of being hospitalized or examined by the medical commissions, 21.7 percent were found to be ill. Among these, 10.7 percent were classified incapable of military service, 17 percent capable in a limited way, and 31.7 percent interned.

The age groups most affected were between 41-55 years, representing over 70 percent of the total number of persons ill, and the most frequent diseases were arterial hypertension, sugar diabetes, ischemic cardiopathia, ulcers, asthenic neurosis, liver disease and arteriosclerosis.

For draftees and young persons in military schools who were interned the most frequently encountered illnesses were: diseases of the upper respiratory passages, gastro-duodenal ulcers, rheumatism, various neuro-psychological adaptation syndromes, surgical illnesses and - excluding emergencies - afflictions which, under other conditions and other circumstances, would never result in internment in a hospital.

Faced with this summary data, which is, however, sufficient to draw a conclusion, we find ourselves at an impasse that we find that something must be done for all the categories of military personnel, but especially for the cadres. This something should begin with the need and obligation of the military doctors and the commanders of all types to give greater attention to the health of military personnel, using health education for the purpose of combating certain practices which deteriorate their health in one way or another, such as:

- overeating and the exaggerated consumption of alcoholic beverages;
- smoking;
- the proliferation of stress factors: abuse, unjustified orders, harsh language and attitudes, swearing, professional dissatisfaction;
- a lack of exercise and sedentarism;
- irregular meals;
- an overloaded schedule and working in bursts;
- ignoring medical precepts;
- not using leave to rest.

The group at the Craiova Military Hospital had these types of concerns, but the practical achievements were limited since it always found more urgent problems in the units that had to be resolved.

The statistical data show the fact that a series of illnesses which, previously, were in the domain of advanced age, today have jumped down to around age 35, with cases of arterial hypertension, diabetes, ischemic cardiopathia, heart attack, arteriosclerosis becoming ever more frequent at these relatively young ages.

The proliferation of these diseases has also created the term "nontransmittable epidemic diseases," and tied to them the idea of "risk factors."

The risk factors are abnormal means of biological response (metabolic, hemodynamic and psychological) that are inherited or acquired by an apparently healthy individual and which are associated with an increase in the possibilities for later illness.

The group of major risk factors includes: a diet rich in saturated fats, hypercholesterolemia and hyperlipidemia, arterial hypertension and smoking.

The other risk factors are represented by: sugar diabetes, gout, consumption of alcoholic beverages, a sedentary life, obesity, coffee drinking, behavioral traits, family history and so forth.

The existence of one or a number of risk factors increases the incidence of illness. They represent a reality and need to be well known, and health education must be clear, in an accessible language, since it is not addressed to and does not involve only one person, but rather a group - frequently even troublesome and without any type of care. It has to state things clearly, where overeating leads, as well as excessive smoking, consumption of alcoholic beverages, a sedentary life, and which diseases are produced, what results and complications can appear.

The examples are many and available to anyone: pulmonary and larynx cancer; perforated ulcers; arteriosclerosis, cirrhosis, dramatic digestive hemorrhaging; insulin-dependent diabetes; heart attack; cerebral vascular accident and so forth.

If the conditions and time could be created for them and, especially, if there were a concern for this type of activity, the doctors in the units would be able to carry out an efficient effort, with these doctors knowing the people, their habits, the style of life in their families and in the unit, their level of education and other specific aspects.

In its current form in some units, health education work tends to take on a formal aspect due to erroneously applied methods. Here it is also necessary to have a new quality that will keep in mind the efficiency of health education work. Is there efficiency in the health education work carried out, for example, by the internist in the hospital who convinces the sick person who is ill with hypertension, diabetes or ischemic cardiopathia not to smoke, not to drink alcohol and to lose weight? In this situation, the sick person actually has no choice, he listens under the imperative of a limited situation. Health education work would be efficient if the unit doctor carried it out with him so that this sick person did not come down sick with this diagnosis.

The result is that we do not have rigorous criteria, but rather very vague and difficult to define criteria in order to evaluate the results of health education in the units. If you hear the call and have the passion, concern and perseverance, you could formulate, apply and follow the criteria for efficiency linked to age group regarding: smoking, drinking alcohol, physical resistance and so forth. This will never be too much, regardless of how much one speaks on the subject of health education and, especially, on the subject of risk factors. Having been warned, he who continues to live irrationally commits an act of self-aggression that is more destructive in the long term than different illnesses that might work separately upon him. Man does not die, he kills himself, or as a Chinese proverb says "he digs his grave with a spoon."

The definition of health is not equivalent merely to the absence of illness, but with a securing social condition. The state of health becomes a performance for those with an irrational lifestyle or for those in middle age who do not take steps to prevent precocious aging. In reality, the efficiency of health education depends more upon the receptiveness of the masses, whom are addressed, than upon the ability of the doctor to convince them.

The number and quality of health education materials that are spread about daily on the radio and television and in the press should be sufficient to also move the mountains. Nonetheless, their efficiency is greatly reduced in relationship to the efforts that are made, since the number of smokers, alcoholics, obese persons, sedentary persons and so forth has not significantly decreased.

Here there is a psychological barrier, one difficult to penetrate, that is raised by the receiving masses, who look, read and understand, who are in agreement and in the end change nothing in their lifestyle. This gap between acceptance of the example and their lack of will has a number of causes:

- some, purely and simply, do not want to change anything, refuse everything because all the vital threats have a due date thrown into the confused future, in a word, "sometime" in which he does not believe too much;
- others want to merely platonically, without investing any effort, and pursue some miraculous thing, an expedient;
- most people seriously want to, but do not have the will, an ability for self-knowledge and self-control.

For all these categories, pleasure outstrips reason in the ability to positively influence behavior. For them, the permanent submission to the pleasure principle smooths the path towards self-destruction. What can we offer them to compensate for this pleasure? At the most the promise that by renouncing an irrational life later they will have much greater satisfactions by way of physical and mental vivacity, vital tonus, an agreeable appearance, an increase in prestige in their collective or family, and so forth.

Unfortunately, too few people take things to the end and succeed, "if it does not add years to your life, at least it adds life to your years;" which should not at all be ignored.

Among the health education subjects that should not be overlooked are self-medication and the abuse of medicines.

In the healing process, no one any longer gives attention to rest, schedules, hygiene conditions, leaving the environment and so forth, and everyone expects everything from a miraculous medicine. One such medicine was penicillin, which did miracles in the first years of its appearance. But, who today still writes, for example, penicillin on prescriptions when wide-use antibiotics have come into current use?

The same thing happened with the use of sedatives, with tranquilizers today being the latest fashion, with more or less pronounced toxic effects?

There are very serious discussions about the ravages of alcohol, known more in its infractional aspect, as well as for traffic accidents, for the violation of law and order and less for the fact that it represents the number one factor, as incriminated by neuropsychological pathology, and that ethanol intoxication tends to become scourge in society, in the family and even in production.

Within the framework of health education, aspects of the doctor-patient relationship and problems of medical deontology will be dealt with - what are the responsibilities, what are the limits of this responsibility and, at the same time, what are the obligations of the patient who must be sincere and pursue merely getting well and not ask the doctor for things outside his competence or professional qualifications.

Health education work must be a permanent effort, to be a field of medicine. The habit, especially among city dwellers, of meeting in the open areas, in friendly reunions, round an abundant number of tables covered with drinks, should be replaced by long walks in the open air. No medicine is comparable to physical exercise with regards to the beneficial effects and the lack of any secondary negative effects. Exercise can replace nearly any medicine, but no medicine can replace exercise.

The state of being physically tired must not be avoided, but rather sought out, since the recovery from this is at functional parameters higher than the point of departure. One moves with muscles, runs with lungs and gallops along with the heart, resists with the stomach and succeeds with the brain.

The rediscovery of physical effort is a happy return to nature.

We have called for the need for exercise since in many military units sports, exercise, tourism, life in the open air and walks are still regarded in a simplistic and sometimes contradictory manner.

Among all the realities of life, death is the one man does not accept. It is, perhaps, a law of the nature of man that he will constantly deceive himself with the feeling of the distance from this certain fate. Everyone knows that destiny has signed condemnation orders against them, but each hopes that the execution will be as far away as possible. But, for this to happen something must be done. Should it not be that each of us in the sphere of responsibility where we carry out our activities, begin with health education?

8724

CSO: 2700/72

ORTHODOX, LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN SUPPORT 'APPEAL FOR DISARMAMENT, PEACE'

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Nov 83 p 3

[Excerpts] From the entire country, reports continue to arrive indicating that members of the clergy, along with all the people, in Romania, are expressing their support for the policy of our state, for the peace initiatives of President Nicolae Ceausescu. The telegrams addressed to the president of the country show that the clergy of the religions in Romania are alongside all those who are struggling for the elimination of war from the life of humanity and for the defense of peace.

The telegram signed by Vasile, bishop of Oradea, says: The Romanian Orthodox hierarchy and clergy in Bihor County, meeting in a conference of priests in Oradea Municipality, on the subject of the Appeal for Disarmament and Peace, drawn up by the assembly of representatives of mass and social organizations and other member organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, an appeal addressed by our country to all the peoples of the world, express their total support for this new and brilliant peace initiative of Romania and of you, personally.

This vibrant appeal, in the particularly serious context of the tense international situation, the continuing and unprecedented escalation of the arms race, especially in the nuclear sphere, and the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe, incites us and calls upon us, the clergy of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Bihor County, along with all the peace-loving Romanian people and with people of good will throughout the world, to take definite actions for disarmament and for the triumph of the cause of peace. As loyal citizens of the country and in the name of the deepest religious convictions of messengers of peace in the world, we join, with all our hearts, all those who want peace and who are saying a resolute "No" to war and an equally resolute "Yes" to peace.

The telegram signed by Michael Schuller, dean of the Sibiu District consistory states: The assembly of Augustan Confession Evangelical [Lutheran] priests from the Sibiu church district, held in Sibiu, discussed, in a responsible manner, the Appeal for Disarmament and Peace of the member organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, fully adhering to the appeal's view of the serious tension which exists in international life, the danger of an atomic disaster and the need for and means of preventing this. Alongside the entire

people, we express our complete support of the peace initiatives and actions, so responsible, profoundly humanistic, and widely appreciated in international life, of Romania and of your excellency personally, steps which confirm once more the well-known dedication to peace and humanity on the part of the Romanian people and the national minorities in Romania.

As a minister of a religion which has always been bound to the aspirations for peace on the part of the believers, we pledge, Mr President, to educate our faithful, in the future, too, in the spirit of peace and understanding among peoples, thus making our specific contribution to achieving a better and more just world, which will be free of the threat of war.

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BRIEFS

QUALITY CONTROL UNIT--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that as of the date of the present decree [23 November 1983] the State Inspectorate General for Quality Control of Products will operate subordinate to the Council of Ministers. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 93, 1 Dec 83 p 1]

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Sabin Faur is released from his position as deputy minister of the metallurgical industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 93, 1 Dec 83 p 2]

NEW JOB FOR GAVANESCU--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Pantelimon Gavanescu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Dimbovita Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 94, 5 Dec 83 p 2]

DEATH OF CATHOLIC LEADER--The clergy of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest announce the death, on 27 November 1983, of Monsignor Francisc Augustin, ordinary of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest, deputy of the Grand National Assembly in a number of legislatures and member of the National Council of the Socialist Democratic Unity Front. The body of the deceased is in St Joseph's Cathedral, open from 0900 hours to 1700 hours, where all who wish may bid him farewell. The funeral will be held at 1000 hours at St Joseph's Cathedral, with burial in Belu Catholic Cemetery. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Nov 83 p 6]

CSO: 2700/76



## SATIRICAL COMMENTARIES RIDICULE OFFICIAL VIEWS

## Re Dismissals in Secret

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Commentary by M. Petrovic: "Among Themselves"]

[Text] The list of topics in recent Yugoslav history has lengthened considerably in the last few years in the works of Yugoslav litterateurs, dramatists, journalists, and authors of feature articles. The latest achievement in this realm is certainly the series "The Brioni Plenum" from the pen of Sava Krzavac, which is appearing in NIN with the commercial title of "Why Aleksandar Rankovic Was Dismissed."

At a time when just the first three pages of any newspaper are more than the average reader can take, there is little likelihood that this series will strike much of a chord with the reading public. The role of the author is unclear in the extreme: so far, we have been given the chance to read only extracts from the minutes of the plenum and nothing more, leaving us to wonder why all of this was not published earlier. It might have been sufficient to add a reminder to this effort by the editors of NIN and Krzavac, whose interests we understand, to "illuminate" events from postwar days: the reminder would have taken note of the admission by Krzavac (also coauthor of the series "The Cominform and Barren Island" and the book "The Cominform--What Is It?") that he did not grasp the essence of the events of those days either in 1948 or much later.

Or we could have paraphrased Nusic's prayer: "Lord, Your works are great, nothing happens without Your knowledge, You bring light and draw down darkness, Lord, why don't You put some sense into Sava Krzavac, while You are at it, he is at his writing again." That might have been sufficient, I was saying, except for one polemical spark that was ignited by the publication of documents from the plenum before expiring in the total darkness of public silence.

In the issue dated 9 October, a letter was published from Krste Crvenkovski, a participant at the Brioni plenum, whose biography had been appended to the series, stating among other things: "...After mentioning some of my more

significant positions, the author writes, 'His offices ceased in the 1970's, a short while after the 21st session of the LCY presidium.' My membership on the Presidency of Yugoslavia ceased ... by force of the Constitution as of the date of the election of new members of the Presidency in the Assembly 16 May 1974. That has no connection with the 21st session of the LCY presidium, which was held 1-3 December 1971." In response, after a detailed description of the significance of the aforementioned session, Krzavac writes: "... In the case of some comrades, however, their terms just expired, and they soon--like the others (those criticized publicly--M.P.)--'disappeared' entirely from political life, although they had occupied the most prominent positions. The mass public was never informed of the reasons for their 'absence' from politics, since the criticism of their political conduct and views--which were in sharp conflict with LCY policy--remained within the narrow circle of the forums to which they belonged."

Tales about the causes for the dismissal of certain ranking Yugoslav politicians have always been an unavoidable component of marketplace gossip, and we had always looked upon them as such. Accordingly, it is strange that no one has reacted to the views expressed in Krzavac's answer. The gap between the principles proclaimed by our society and the Kafkaesque atmosphere implied by the above quotation is insurmountable and generates questions to which no answer has yet been provided.

To the average citizen of this country, whose concern with politics is confined to watching television newscasts and paying trade-union and party dues, the reasons for failing to report the causes for the dismissal of high officials are inconceivable. All the more so in that it is clear to our average citizen, as a regular consumer of reports from gatherings, that domestic and foreign foes should not be provided material for intrigues, the spread of which constitutes one of the modes of special warfare. Clearly, also, failure to acquaint the mass public with the reasons behind the "disappearance" of politicians from public life generates mistrust in the explanations that are offered when other politicians, who have been publicly criticized, are dismissed.

The dismissal of officials in narrow circles of the highest forums, remote from the eyes of the public and still further from public verification of such decisions, contains by definition a danger of accidental or intentional error. Was Rankovic, before his dismissal, deciding about the dismissal of some official or other? How much faith should we have in the decisions of certain forums within which dismissals occurred, on which Rankovic prior to 1966 surely had substantial influence? What about the decisions on "disappearances" for which the bearers of nationalism voted prior to 1971? How much was Mahmut Bakali able to influence the "disappearance" of some official or other in Kosov Province and Serbia? And finally, how much are we to believe in the correctness of the dismissal of an official if the decision is taken tomorrow in narrow circles of a forum and if we are not informed of the reason? What if an enemy of this society whose activity was not unmasked in 1966, 1971, or 1981 is sitting in some forum?

We are all aware of the necessity for normal and regular changes of personnel in leadership positions: the purpose of such changes is to permit our political system to function optimally. The dangers of decision-making in narrow circles on matters of vital significance to such functioning, on the other hand, make the system vulnerable.

#### Re Ceremonial Phrasemongering

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 83 p 3

[Commentary by Momcilo Petrovic: "Not in Our Name Too"]

[Text] Five months ago, an argument flared up in forums and on the pages of the press concerning the scenography for the concluding ceremony on Youth Day. The discussion also ended 5 months ago.

More and more people speaking from rostrums are reminding us of one set or another of Tito's words, trying to depict themselves as the consistent interpreters and followers of the father of our revolution and therefore invulnerable to responsibility for the moral [political] economic crisis of our society. On the other hand, dogmatic-Stalinist and anarcho-liberal circles keep on launching stories and allegedly "historical" documents showing that "Tito is guilty for everything." It is not our intention to defend the work of Comrade Tito--he does not need that. It is enough to remind all those who are incapable of seeing all their mistakes and weaknesses that Comrade Bakaric stubbornly repeated that what is done in practice in the name of Comrade Tito never occurred to him.

The most recent example of such behavior, however, calls into question the judgment of the officials of our capital city. According to the words of a reporter from Belgrade 202 radio, broadcast 20 October 1983 at approximately 8:50 a.m., a delegation of the city of Belgrade visiting the House of Flowers on Belgrade's Liberation Day wrote the following in the commemoration book: "Results previously unimaginable are directly linked with the name and work of Comrade Tito." These words cannot be excused by carelessness or lack of consciousness about our current political situation: among other things, these are the officials who are explaining to us every day why there is no meat in the butcher shops and why some schools will lack heating this year, these are the ones who proudly parade their contribution to alleviating unemployment.

We know well what goals our Revolution set before itself. Our present-day results have absolutely nothing in common with what our battlers, headed by Comrade Tito, wanted. For precisely that reason, we do not concur with what the Belgrade city officials wrote in our name in the commemoration book at the House of Flowers. The moment that they chose for excusing themselves, and especially the location, can generate revulsion among all honest working people. At the moment when the progressive forces headed by the Leagues of Communists of our republics and autonomous provinces are waging a decisive battle for stabilization on the basis of the ideas and works of Josip Broz Tito, Edvard Kardelj, Vladimir Bakaric, et al., and while foreign creditors are trying

to use high interest rates to influence our nonaligned policy, every attempt to subvert the foundations of our system cannot be characterized other than as an act against the Revolution, an act directed against all our constituent peoples and ethnic groups.

Accordingly, we demand the condemnation of such behavior, and we demand action to define the responsibility of all those who made up the delegation that visited the House of Flowers. Those who are unready to bear their share of the responsibility for the situation in which we find ourselves, as was said in the Resolution of the 12th LCY Congress, cannot continue in leadership offices. Much less those who, in addition, seek in Comrade Tito's name and work the causes for their failure in carrying out responsible offices.

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END